

The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES

OF

THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED 1896)

BOARD OF EDITORS

(To retire on January 1, 1931)

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J. B. TYRRELL, W. T. WAUGH, GEORGE M. WRONG.

Managing Editor

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VOLUME XI

1930

Published Quarterly
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Correspondence with regard to contributions to the REVIEW should be sent to the Managing Editor, at the University of Toronto Library, Toronto 5, Ontario. Books for review should be sent to the same address. Subscriptions should be sent to the Business Manager, at the University of Toronto Library, Toronto 5, Ontario.



The Canadian Historical Review

VOL. XI.

TORONTO, MARCH 1930

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

WITH this number the REVIEW enters upon its eleventh year as a quarterly publication. As was announced in the last issue, it has seemed advisable at this time to enlarge the Board of Editors so that, in addition to a nucleus of members in Toronto, it may include representatives from various parts of the Dominion. The members of the new Board are as follows: Professor A. MacMechan of Dalhousie University, Halifax; Dr. J. C. Webster of Shediac, N.B.; Mr. Ægidius Fauteux of the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice in Montreal; Professor W. T. Waugh of McGill University; Dr. A. G. Doughty of the Public Archives in Ottawa; Professor D. A. McArthur of Queen's University, Kingston; Professor Fred Landon of the University of Western Ontario in London; Professor A. S. Morton, University of Saskatchewan; Professor A. L. Burt, University of Alberta; His Honour Judge Howay, New Westminster, B.C.; Professor G. M. Wrong, Toronto; Mr. J. B. Tyrrell, Toronto; Principal W. L. Grant of Upper Canada College, Toronto; and Professors Chester Martin, W. P. M. Kennedy and W. S. Wallace of the University of Toronto. On account of their writings and well-known interest in various aspects of Canadian history, the names of the members will be familiar to most of our readers. Two members of the former Board have retired at their own request, Dr. A. H. U. Colquhoun and Mr. W. L. Langton, and the REVIEW is glad to take this opportunity of expressing appreciation of their services. Dr. Colquhoun has shown a long-continued interest as an active and sympathetic adviser, while Mr. Langton may in a special sense be regarded as one of the founders of the REVIEW since he was associated for many years with Professor Wrong in editing the annual *Review of historical publications relating to Canada*.

The first volume of the *Review of historical publications* was prepared in 1896, at a time when periodicals devoted to history were still a rare phenomenon. The *American Historical Review* appeared first in 1895, and the *English Historical Review* in 1886. Of more practical importance, however, than the fact that the REVIEW may be numbered among the pioneer journals of its kind is the significance of this period of thirty-five years in the writing of Canadian history. In 1896, Canadian history was scarcely recognized even in Canadian universities as worthy the dignity of being set apart as a separate subject of study. Few men were studying it seriously, and, with a small number of notable exceptions, such as the works of Parkman and Garneau, little of value had been written. In 1896, too, the study of history was just entering on a process of intensive investigation. That process, with its now familiar paraphernalia of monographs, critical reviews, graduate theses, and archive collections with their calendars, guides, catalogues, check lists, and check lists of check lists, *ad infinitum*, has been gathering momentum ever since; and, however defective may be many of the individual products of the process of specialized study, there can be no two opinions as to the value of the accomplishment as a whole in making possible a more adequate and unprejudiced understanding of the past. It is thus a fact of interest and significance that the REVIEW has provided a means for the recording and critical appraisal of serious works on Canadian history during practically the entire period of the intensive study of the subject.

There has been a valuable continuity in the editorial control of the REVIEW since its inception. Professor Wrong, the founder of the REVIEW, was an active editor until the annual series was replaced by the present quarterly in 1920. As a member of the Board of Editors, he continues to show his interest as a discerning and sympathetic critic. Mr. Langton's name was associated with that of Professor Wrong as joint editor during almost the entire period of the publication of the annual volume; and in 1920 he, too, became a member of the Board. Mr. Wallace first had a part in the preparation of the annual volume in 1911; and, in 1920, with the establishment of the present REVIEW, he assumed the managing editorship. Mr. Wallace, whose decision to retire from that office has been accepted with great regret, has been largely responsible for the form and content of the REVIEW during the past ten years, and the importance of his contribution to the success of the

journal would be difficult to over-estimate. In the completion of the index, which is now being prepared under his supervision, Mr. Wallace will add still further to the permanent value of the volumes which he edited.

It is fitting that, as the REVIEW begins another decade, it should express its appreciation of all those who have contributed to its success by preparing articles, writing reviews, and lending assistance in numerous other ways. In a number of cases this assistance and interest have been continued over a period of years. Not least worthy of mention is the fact that from time to time we are indebted to those who send in items for the list of recent publications which is included in every issue. No aspect of the work of the REVIEW is more important than the compilation of this bibliography of writings relating to Canadian history and allied topics. As omissions may easily occur, especially in the case of publications which have been locally or privately circulated, we very much appreciate any information which assists in making the list as nearly complete as possible.

The question has sometimes been raised as to whether the REVIEW might not open its pages to articles and reviews of books touching other fields than that of Canadian history. While such a change in practice would be welcome from some points of view, there seem to be sound reasons at present for adhering to the policy which was well described in the first issue of the REVIEW ten years ago: "It is intended, for the present, to confine the scope of the REVIEW to Canadian history. But an attempt will be made to interpret this programme in the most liberal sense. As in the *Review of historical publications relating to Canada*, not only Canadian history in the stricter sense, but geography, economics, archæology, ethnology, law, education, and imperial relations, in so far as they relate to Canada, will fall under review. Nor will history in the making be neglected, as against history that is made." There are excellent journals dealing specially with various other fields of history, and a change in the policy of the REVIEW would mean duplicating to some extent, work which is already being well done, and perhaps jeopardizing in the process the value of our contribution in a field where it might hope to be distinctive. There has been a rapid development of interest in Canadian history, not only in Canada but elsewhere, and notably in the United States. Canadian history, which was practically

unnoticed in the United States a decade ago, is now being taught in over twenty American universities, and increasing numbers of American students are turning their attention to the subject as a promising and not overcrowded field for research. Such facts are a welcome evidence of the growing importance of Canadian history. Certainly it is clear that they provide both an opportunity and a challenge to all who are interested in the subject. It seems, therefore, that the REVIEW can best make its distinctive contribution to the advancement of historical scholarship in Canada by concentrating attention largely on the field whose cultivation must continue to be the major interest of Canadian historians.

The March issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains the following interesting editorial paragraph: "In the September, 1929, issue of the *Canadian Historical Review* is presented a list of graduate theses in Canadian history and economics in current course of preparation. The theses are grouped under the heads respectively of 'for the Doctor's Degree' and 'for the Master's Degree.' Perusal discloses that, of doctoral dissertations in the Canadian field, three are under preparation in Canadian universities, three in those of England, and forty-three in those of the United States; of Masters' theses, thirty-six are being prepared in Canada, two in England, and thirteen in the United States. Both American and Canadian governmental authorities may ponder with profit these figures, which point the attention to facts of utmost importance to the future relations of both countries."

The recently announced acquisition of the *Gage Papers* by the Clements Library at the University of Michigan is an item of much interest to students of Canadian history. Although there are a few papers of an earlier date, the large majority are of the years between 1763 and 1775. The authority of Gage, as commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America prior to the Revolution, extended not only to the continental colonies but to the Bermudas, the Bahamas, and part of the West Indies, and his papers are as varied and voluminous as one would expect. In addition to proclamations, addresses, and many miscellaneous papers, they include correspondence on all sorts of questions with various branches of the home government; with military and naval officials; with colonial governors in America, Spanish and

Danish as well as English; with officials of the Northern and Southern Departments of Indian Affairs, which were directly under Gage; and with numerous other officials, such as the surveyor-general of lands in the Northern district and commissioners of customs. Mr. R. G. Adams, the custodian of the library, informs the REVIEW that a considerable number of documents bear directly on Canadian affairs, such as correspondence with Canadian governors, with military commanders and civilian officials, with Sir William Johnson and members of his department, etc. There are 134 ALS's from Carleton, and twenty of the collection of maps pertain to Canada. Gage's files seem to have been well preserved and not raided by numerous collectors—a fact of great comfort to the historian.

The centenary of the publication of Haliburton's *Historical and statistical account of Nova Scotia* passed almost without notice. At the request of the REVIEW, Professor MacMechan has written the following note in recognition of the book's permanent value and of the difficulties under which it was compiled:

A hundred years ago last August, Haliburton's *Historical and statistical account of Nova Scotia* was published in Halifax, by Joseph Howe. It was an ambitious undertaking. The two volumes of nearly 800 pages follow the best contemporary models in paper, print, and page design. Helpful illustrative material in the shape of plans, views, and a map of the province must have added much to the cost of production. As a specimen of early Canadian printing, the *Account* has an importance apart altogether from its contents. Unfortunately, because of his father's illness, Haliburton could not read his proofs, and errors crept in.

Haliburton's patriotic motive is evident in the line, "This is my own my native land", which is printed on the title-page. His province had been persistently decried and misrepresented. This *Account* would redress the balance. The first volume is devoted to history proper, from the voyage of Cabot to the end of the Seven Years' War. The second volume, the "statistical" part, is a fairly complete survey of the province at the beginning of the nineteenth century by a corps of interested contributors. No other colony in British North America at that time was surveyed as thoroughly. Each district is treated separately. The origins and occupations of the different settlers, quality of soil, buildings, provisions for religion and education are all considered by an authority with local know-

ledge. The promise of statistics is well fulfilled. Figures of population, produce, stock, etc., are clearly tabulated. For the student interested in the origins of Nova Scotia, this second volume is a mine of information, not elsewhere accessible.

Haliburton's achievement should be measured by the difficulties he had to overcome, among the chief being a great dearth of materials, the absence of libraries either public or private in the province, and a lack of training in research. He had to borrow from London and Boston; he had to trust to copyists; he had to engage in a wide correspondence, while practising his profession as a lawyer. But he had the modern point of view. Wherever possible he used primary authorities, and he understood the value of *pièces justificatives*.

The Canadian Historical Association will hold its annual meeting in Montreal on May 22 and 23 next. As this will be the first meeting since the Association joined the International Institute of Historical Sciences, a special session will be devoted to a discussion of the plans of that organization, and the ways in which the Association can co-operate with it. A programme of the Association's meeting will go forward to members in the near future. Further information may be obtained by writing to the secretary of the Association at the Public Archives, Ottawa.

On January 17 last, the first Tyrrell medal, awarded for outstanding work in Canadian history, was struck at the Royal Mint in Ottawa. It will be remembered that the terms of the award were published in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* for 1929, where it was also observed that the donor had given a sufficiently generous endowment to provide from time to time for a special money grant to assist research work in Canadian history. The medal was awarded for 1928 to the Hon. Thomas Chapais, and for 1929 to Professor G. M. Wrong. The designs, which are especially fine, are the work of Mr. C. W. Jefferys. One of them depicts Mr. Tyrrell in costume such as he wore on his notable journeys of exploration into northern Canada over thirty years ago.

The recently published twenty-sixth annual report of the department of historical research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington gives information with regard to the continuance of several projects which have a bearing on various aspects of Canadian history. Among them may be noted the *Guide to materials for*

American history in the archives and libraries of Paris, which is now nearing completion; and the third volume, covering the years 1703-1727, of the *Proceedings and debates of the British parliaments respecting North America* (1542-1783), now ready for publication. In view of the importance of the Treaty of Utrecht and its effects, this volume should be very valuable to students of Canadian colonial history.

An event of considerable interest, if not in Canadian history at least to many Canadians, will take place at Reykjavik in Iceland during the summer of 1930. Icelanders throughout Canada are co-operating with the government of Iceland in commemorating the thousandth anniversary of the first *Althing* or 'parliament' of Iceland. The *Althing* of 930 was scarcely as dynamic as the 'mother parliament' of Edward I, three and a half centuries later in England, but the fact that a thousand years of their own traditions lie behind the contribution which Icelanders have made and are making to Canadian history is worthy of comment. Icelandic settlements over fifty years ago began one of the most stirring traditions of fortitude in Western Canada. More than a thousand Icelanders enlisted in the C.E.F. during the War and the province of Manitoba is now the chief Icelandic centre in North America. In many ways, culturally and otherwise, their contacts with other communities of their race are still very close, and the co-operation of Canada at Reykjavik next summer would be a tribute not only to Icelandic, but in a very real sense to Canadian, history.

The University of London Institute of Historical Research is considering the photographic reproduction of the *Statutes of the Realm*, published by the British "Record Commission" between 1810 and 1828. As the volumes are now scarce and expensive, the reproduction would undoubtedly be of great value. It is expected that, if 200 sets were ordered, it would be possible to supply the twelve volumes for between £40 and £50, payments being spread over a period of two or three years as the volumes appeared. Before issuing a prospectus and inviting promises of subscription the Institute is anxious to obtain some idea of the probable volume of demand, since the expectation of 250 or 300 orders might enable sets to be offered at prices lower than those suggested. Libraries or individuals, who would be likely to purchase sets of single volumes if the work were carried out on the lines indicated,

are asked to write at once to the Secretary, Institute of Historical Research, Malet Street, London, W.C.1, indicating what their probable needs would be. Response to this invitation will not be taken as a promise to subscribe.

The first article in this issue, which describes the place of the theatre in the life of New France, has been contributed by Miss Margaret M. Cameron of the department of French in the University of Saskatchewan. It is followed by a re-interpretation of the part played by Henry Hamilton in the war of the American Revolution, written by Professor Nelson Vance Russell, head of the department of history, Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. The fact that Professor Russell is of American birth and citizenship will make the article not less interesting to readers of the REVIEW, since he is of the opinion that Hamilton has been given scanty justice by American writers. The article throws a good deal of light in general on the attitude towards the methods of warfare in America at that time. Mr. George V. V. Nicholls, who is at present studying law at McGill University, has contributed the extracts from a diary which describes conditions in Lower Canada during the first half of the last century.

PLAY-ACTING IN CANADA DURING THE FRENCH REGIME

IN 1926 there was dedicated, at Annapolis Royal, a tablet commemorating the first theatrical production given by Europeans in the country now included in the Dominion of Canada. This first spectacle was presented in 1606, a little more than two years after the arrival of the first French explorers of that region, and some eighteen months after the establishment of the colony at Port Royal. We should to-day call it an aquatic or marine pageant, rather than a play, but its author, Marc Lescarbot, gave it the following imposing title: *Théâtre de Neptune en la Nouvelle France représenté sur les flots de Port Royal le quatorzième de novembre mille six cent six au retour du sieur de Poutrincourt du país des Armouchiquois*.¹ The text is made up of a series of compliments addressed to the leader of the colony on his return after an absence of several months. It would offer little interest as literature if we did not find scattered through it a few Indian words. It is true that we find these words in the mouths of Neptune and his tritons as well as in those of the Indians, and that they use them in speaking to Poutrincourt. But the unfamiliar words probably gave the author the illusion of creating an exotic atmosphere, and they certainly gave him an excuse, as he explained them in marginal notes, of making known the fact that he had visited that far-away country and knew whereof he spoke.

But much more interesting, as an indication of the effect that these new sights had had on Lescarbot's imagination, are his figures of Indians. They were probably pseudo-savages, as they speak French, but they represent the Micmac types that Lescarbot had seen himself—the ambassador with his gifts of beaded collars and belts, the hunter with his bow and arrows, and, at his feet, a quarter of a recently killed moose, the fisher with his harpoon. Nature herself had come to the aid of the author and stage-manager. Lescarbot tells us elsewhere, in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, how mild it was that autumn. Towards the middle of November they were still rejoicing in the charm of Indian summer, so that Lescarbot was able to pose his figures of

¹Printed in *Les muses de la Nouvelle France* (Paris, 1609). For a spirited translation by Professor R. K. Hicks, see the *Queen's quarterly*, December, 1926.

savages against a gorgeous background of sea and of autumn foliage. As they stand there, sketched with classical simplicity in a few words of stage directions, they are not unworthy of comparison with the bronze figures of Hébert. One feels that one is in the presence of an observer who divined, at least vaguely, what this strange country had to offer of new sensations and of picturesque forms, that he had, at least in some small degree, the sense of what a really great Frenchman was to christen just about two hundred years later, "local colour." Lescarbot composed a few descriptions in verse which he published in the *Muses de la Nouvelle France*, but he did not renew his dramatic efforts. He returned to France in the autumn of 1607. The *Théâtre de Neptune* remained an episode without a sequel, and, for further evidence of the development of a taste for drama among the French colonists, we have to look in the early records of Quebec.

During the very first years which followed the re-establishment of the colony at Quebec in 1632, the laborious life of the settlers left them little time for worldly amusement, and their profound piety prevented the desire for any such amusement being born. The only diversion that Champlain allowed himself during his residence as governor at Quebec was the reading aloud of some good historian or of the *Lives of the saints*.¹ Montmagny, Champlain's successor, softened a little the austerity of this mode of life, and, in 1640, a tragi-comedy was presented at Quebec with the twofold object of celebrating the birth of the dauphin, afterwards Louis XIV, and of edifying the savages. Father Le Jeune recounts the event with delightful naïveté in the *Relation* of 1640:

Monsieur le chevalier de Montmagny notre gouverneur. . . a fait représenter cette année une tragi-comédie en l'honneur de ce prince nouveau-né; je n'aurais pas cru qu'on pût trouver un si gentil appareil et de si bons acteurs a Québec, le sieur Martial Piraubé qui conduisait cette action et qui en représentait le premier personnage réussit avec excellence, mais afin que nos sauvages en puissent retenir quelque utilité, Monsieur le Gouverneur, doué d'un zèle et d'une prudence non commune, nous invita d'y mêler quelque chose qui leur pût donner dans la vue et frapper leurs oreilles, nous fîmes poursuivre l'âme d'un infidèle, par deux demons qui enfin la précipitèrent dans un enfer qui vomissait des flammes, les résistances, les cris et les hurlements de cette âme et de ces demons, qui parlaient en langue algonquine, donnèrent si avant dans le cœur de

¹ *Jesuit relations*, 1633-1634, VI, 103.

quelquesuns qu'un sauvage nous dit a deux jours de la qu'il avait été fort épouvanté par un songe tres affreux. . . .¹

It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to add that in the dream the speaker himself played the part of the infidel. Unfortunately, Father Le Jeune, for whom this frivolous detail had no interest whatsoever, does not tell us the name of the tragi-comedy upon which this impressive spectacle was grafted.

Five years before this date the Jesuits had founded a college in Quebec. The Jesuits in France had already an enviable reputation as author-managers of school plays. Father Le Jeune, first superior of the Jesuit college, had been brought up in that tradition at the college of La Flèche. Lalemant and Brébeuf, of whom we think as missionaries and martyrs, had been, before coming out to Canada, distinguished teachers in Jesuit colleges famous for the finished acting of their pupils and the gorgeous spectacles which they organized. It is not surprising, then, to learn that the Jesuits were not long in introducing this custom into their college in Quebec, which thus became the cradle of French drama in Canada. There were, we must hasten to add, vast differences between the gorgeous displays given in the Jesuit colleges in France and the much more modest spectacles presented in Quebec. In France the Jesuit author-managers had large numbers of pupils from whom to choose their actors. These actors, when not princes of the blood, were often members of the oldest and most aristocratic and richest families in France. They were chosen purposely from among the scions of wealthy houses so that they might be able to buy magnificent costumes. In Canada the number of pupils to choose from was, of course, very small, especially in the early years of the colony, and the materials necessary for fine scenery and costumes did not exist. We must remember, too, that the Jesuits of New France were missionaries even more than educators. They were teachers usually only during the early months of their stay in the colony before they had mastered enough of the native dialects to go out and preach, or after they had spent their best years among the Indians. Most of the little plays that they wrote for their pupils have disappeared, probably in Quebec's disastrous fires. The most ambitious were probably those presented to celebrate the arrival of the successive governors in Quebec, and which were sometimes enlivened by Indian dances. Only one of these little compositions has been

¹*Ibid.*, XVIII, 84.

printed, the *Réception de Monseigneur le Vicomte d'Argenson par toutes les nations du pays de Canada à son entrée au gouvernement de la Nouvelle France*.¹ Although the *Jesuit Journal* calls it a "petit drame," it is really nothing more than a dialogue without action. The characters fall naturally into three groups: the Frenchmen, who speak in verse; the converted Indians and the allegorical figures such as the genius of the forests, who speak in French prose; and the unconverted savages who speak in their own tongues. What one notices most in the speech of the Indians is the absence of that redskin style, at once laconic and full of imagery, that one finds in the speech of the Indians of La Hontan or of Charlevoix. The spokesman of the Algonquins, in addressing himself to the governor, provides the only touch of psychological local colour in the play, but he explains and comments on the national character with a verbosity that is very far removed from the traditional taciturnity of his race:

Si j'étais capable de pleurer, je verserais maintenant que je me vois devant vous un torrent de larmes de joie, mais il faut que je vous avoue que je ne sais ce que c'est de pleurer; j'ai trop de courage et de force d'esprit pour me laisser aller a cette bassesse. Je laisse aux âmes lâches et aux femmes les larmes de tristesse et de joie. Les témoignages les plus sincères du respect et de l'amour que j'aurai pour vous toute ma vie seront de verser pour votre service non des larmes mais mon sang jusques a la dernière goutte.²

We are led to believe that the savages did not speak otherwise even in their own tongues, since, after having heard three harangues in three different Indian dialects, the governor hears them translated into French in this same convent style.

In July, 1658, when this play was being prepared and presented, the whole country was in a state of war and the colony was struggling for its very life. On the landward side, Quebec was surrounded by hostile bands and colonists were being attacked in the fields under the very walls of the town. In such circumstances, the presentation of this mediocre college pageant becomes a symbolical, almost an heroic, gesture. Harassed within an inch of its life, French catholic civilization was drawing itself up and challenging pagan barbarism; and, in offering to its governor something resembling the welcome he would have received in a French provincial town, that little community of some five hundred

¹Published by M. P.-G. Roy (Quebec, 1890).

²*Réception de Monseigneur le Vicomte d'Argenson*, 14.

souls was manifesting its determination to remain faithful to the end to the traditions of the mother country.

The direction of spectacles in Canada did not remain in the hands of the clergy, and it is possible that the Jesuits regarded with a certain mistrust the plays that were presented without their advice or aid. It is a significant fact that the only allusion to play-acting in the *Jesuit relations* is in the passage quoted above, in which quite as much importance is attached to the edifying interlude as to the play itself. To discover whether plays continued to be given, we must look in the *Jesuit Journal*, which was not written for publication. It is there that we learn that the *Sit* (*sic*) was played in the store of the Company of One Hundred Associates. Father Lalemant makes the entry:

Le dernier jour de l'an [1646] on représenta une action dans le magasin, du Sit. Nos pères y assistèrent pour la considération de Mons. le Gouverneur qui y avait de l'affection et les sauvages aussi, . . . le tout se passa bien et n'y eut rien qui pût mal édifier. Je priai Mons. le Gouverneur de m'en exempter.¹

If we accept the correction of the editors of the *Journal* and read *Cid* for *Sit*, we see that those early colonists lacked neither literary taste nor courage. For we must not forget that the actors had to be drawn from a population of about five hundred souls, including priests, nuns, and children. In these days, when we are sometimes accused of sacrificing the nation's soul to material progress, it is, perhaps, not without interest to notice that one of the great masterpieces of French drama was performed in Canada before the first horse arrived there. It was a few months after this first performance of the "*Sit*" that the first horse was landed at Quebec.

During carnival week of 1647, the store of the company again did duty as a theatre. In order to show how versatile they were, the amateurs this time gave a ballet. It was, probably, a sort of pageant with a certain amount of speaking, and more tableaux than dances, but this time the Jesuits signified their disapproval by staying away in a body. The authors of the *Journal* continue to mention the plays that were given from time to time. We find the *Cid* again, *Héraclius*, and the *Sage visionnaire*, which was evidently a favourite, as it was played twice.

Unfortunately the *Journal* does not go beyond 1668, the manuscript of the following volumes having been lost or destroyed. All

¹ *Jesuit relations*, XXVIII, 250.

that we know of a period of several years is that the clergy of Quebec was becoming worried as the taste for worldly amusement became more and more marked in the colony. The first ball given in Canada, in 1667, was the occasion of a passage at arms between the representatives of the spiritual, and those of the temporal, powers; and we have reason to believe that the acting of plays was a second source of disagreement between the bishop on the one hand, and the governor and the intendant on the other, since the next time that we hear of acting, in 1685, we find an allusion to disorders connected with amateur theatricals of which no record remains. The question is brought up by Mgr. de Saint-Vallier, who was about to be appointed bishop of Quebec, succeeding Laval. In a letter addressed to the governor, Denonville, and to M^{me} de Denonville, he gives them advice on the way in which their daughter should be brought up, and on the diversions in which she should be allowed to indulge:

On ne croit pas, qu'il soit bienséant à la profession du christianisme de lui permettre la liberté de représenter un personnage de comédie et de paraître devant le monde comme une actrice en déclamant des vers, quelque sainte qu'en puisse être la matière; et bien moins encore croit-on qu'on doive souffrir que des garçons déclament avec des filles. Ce serait renouveler ici sans y penser l'usage du théâtre et de la comédie ou autant ou plus dangereux que le bal et la danse et contre laquelle les désordres qui en sont arrivés autrefois ont donné lieu d'invectiver avec beaucoup de véhémence.¹

Were the plays, which were probably given at the Château Saint-Louis, another bone of contention between Frontenac and Laval? This letter would certainly lead one to believe so, but, if that was the case, both the bishop and the governor seem for once to have been discreet enough to leave no record of their disagreement.

Denonville seems to have followed exactly the counsel of his spiritual adviser. During his administration, no plays appear to have been given. But with the return of Frontenac there came a complete change. After having driven the English from Quebec and repaired, at least to a certain extent, the errors of his predecessors, Frontenac felt quite justified in giving free rein to his taste for display and entertainment. He decided then, in the autumn of 1693, to have a certain number of plays presented in the Château Saint-Louis. The officers of the king's regiment

¹ *Mandements des évêques de Québec*, I, 171.

organized themselves into an amateur theatrical company, and they played Corneille's *Nicomède* and Racine's *Mithridate*. Then one fine day it was rumoured that preparations were being made to perform Moliere's *Tartuffe*, and that the governor had given his consent.

This rumour was the point of departure of a scandal without precedent in the colony,¹ and one wonders at once why Frontenac ever thought of allowing his amateur actors to present in Quebec a play that had provoked a storm of opposition from the devout Catholics of France. As a matter of fact, it is not at all certain that he meant to allow it to be presented. The rumour circulated, and he appears to have made no effort to deny it; but he was quite capable of allowing the storm to rage merely to annoy the bishop. If he did mean to have it played, it was almost certainly with the idea of making a test case of it, and of asserting his authority in connection with the theatre question once and for all. The way in which we find the incident discussed in contemporary documents lends colour to this latter idea, as it very soon figures in close connection with other incidents which belong definitely to the history of the struggle between the bishop and the governor.

In January, 1694, Father Glandelet preached a fiery sermon in the parish church of Quebec condemning all plays. A few days later, the bishop published an injunction pointing out the danger inherent in all plays, even in those that seem most innocent:

Les pièces même qui sont honnêtes de leur nature ne laissent pas d'être très dangereuses par les circonstances du temps ou du lieu ou des personnes ou de la fin ou des manières qui ont accoutumé de précéder d'accompagner ou de suivre ces sortes de divertissements.²

The bishop urges his flock to defer in this matter to the opinion of the saints, and not to depend upon their own feeble judgment. He does not confine his attention to plays that are harmless by nature. There are others that are essentially harmful, and *Tartuffe* is one such. Mgr. de Saint-Vallier forbids the members of his diocese to witness such plays under any pretext whatsoever:

Au regard des spectacles et comédies impies ou impures ou injurieuses au prochain qui ne tendent d'elles-mêmes qu'à inspirer

¹The principal events of this controversy are related in an article by M. Auguste Gosselin, *Memoirs of the Royal Society of Canada*, May, 1898. See also a brief article in the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, II, 136-137.

²*Mandements des évêques de Québec*, 16 janvier, 1694.

des pensées et des affections tout à fait contraires à la religion et à la pureté des mœurs et à la charité du prochain comme sont certaines pièces de théâtre qui tournent la piété et la dévotion en ridicule qui portent les flammes de l'impureté dans le cœur, qui vont à noircir et à déchirer la réputation ou qui, sous le prétexte apparent de réformer les mœurs ne servent qu'à les corrompre et sous couleur de reprendre le vice l'insinuent adroitement et avec artifice dans l'âme des spectateurs comme pourraient être la comédie de Tartuffe ou de l'Imposteur et autres semblables nous déclarons que ces sortes de comédies ne sont pas seulement dangereuses, mais qu'elles sont absolument mauvaises et criminelles d'elles-mêmes et qu'on ne peut y assister sans péché, et comme telles nous les condamnons et faisons défenses très expresses à toutes les personnes de notre diocèse de quelle qualité et condition qu'elles soient, de s'y trouver.¹

Frontenac probably felt that the latter part of this injunction was directed particularly against himself. An injunction had also been published declaring Mareuil, the chief actor among the officers, guilty of blasphemy, and Frontenac sought to justify at the same time himself and Mareuil. He brought the matter before the sovereign council and asked for a sort of judicial inquiry. The account of the proceedings of the council reads as follows:

Le Gouverneur était d'avis que suivant l'exemple que M. Talon avait laissé en pareille occasion le Conseil nommât un ou deux commissaires pour examiner si, dans les tragédies et comédies qui avaient été représentées on pouvait effectivement trouver quelques endroits tendant à l'impiété ou qui pussent offenser la modestie, et enfin s'il serait passé quelque désordre dans ces représentations.²

Frontenac believed, or affected to believe, that Mgr. de Saint-Vallier was attempting to override the sovereign authority, and he presented a memoir to the council in which we find that fear expressed in the following words:

Sa Majesté veut que les personnes auxquelles elle confie le gouvernement de ses provinces veillent à observer si sous un prétexte injuste en effet mais spécieux en apparence l'église ne voudrait pas étendre son autorité et sa domination et introduire une espèce d'inquisition.³

Tartuffe is not mentioned in the memoir nor in the recorded words

¹*Ibid.*

²Archives Nationales, Paris, *Archives coloniales*, F⁷, 200-201.

³*Ibid.*, 225.

of the governor. Frontenac evidently wanted to be judged by the plays which had actually been given. At the same time, he sought an authorized opinion on the question of the morality of the theatre in general rather than on the morality or immorality of a single play.

The sovereign council returned to the question several times during the ensuing months and finally referred it to the council of the king. The judgment of this august body, sitting peacefully some thousand leagues away from the storm centre, is amusing in its Olympian impartiality. The council ruled that the bishop was in the wrong but that the governor was not in the right, and that, in any case, it would not do to give a definite decision in the matter:

Le parti qui paraît le plus convenable au Conseil du Roi est de ne rien statuer publiquement. Car d'un côté peut-être serait-il dangereux de défendre en général la comédie à Québec durant qu'elle est permise ou du moins tolérée dans tout le royaume et de l'autre il ne convient pas au Conseil du Roi de blâmer ouvertement la conduite des évêques qui condamneront la comédie; le tempérament qui paraît le plus juste est d'assoupir ce démêlé le plus doucement que l'on pourra et d'ordonner secrètement aux uns et aux autres de n'en plus faire d'éclat du moins par des mandements publics et par des actes judiciaires. On peut même représenter à l'évêque que pour le bien de la paix il serait bon qu'il ne fit plus prêcher contre la comédie, que ces sermons ne sont plus nécessaires puisqu'on ne donne aucune atteinte à son mandement.¹

It is evident from this document that the injunction of Mgr. de Saint-Vallier was understood as condemning not only "impious and impure" comedies such as *Tartuffe*, but all comedies and, indeed, the theatre in general. It is also evident from it that, although the bishop was not formally upheld by the council of the king, his letter condemning the theatre bore all its fruit.

The affair had stirred up a regular tempest in the colony, and one finds pronounced upon it the most diverse opinions, according as those who formulate them are ranged in the one camp or in the other. Lamothe-Cadillac, an ardent supporter of Frontenac, accuses the bishop of trespassing on the domain of the temporal power.² On the other hand, the abbé de La Tour, a historian bitterly hostile to Frontenac, accuses him of holding up religion

¹*Ibid.*, 227.

²*Ibid.*, 178.

to ridicule and insult. His accusation is, however, rendered practically valueless by the fact that it is accompanied by another which is certainly false. According to La Tour, Frontenac not only had *Tartuffe* played at the Château, but he had it repeated in all the convents and monasteries of Quebec, except in that of the Récollets.¹ The abbé was writing about half a century after the event, but the fact that he could record and hand on such an extravagant story serves as an indication of the proportions that the affair must have assumed in the minds of the people of Quebec.

As a result of the *Tartuffe* scandal, even the edifying little spectacles of the Jesuit college were discontinued. We know, from a letter addressed by Father Germain, superior of the college of Quebec, to the superior general of the Company of Jesus, that Mgr. de Saint-Vallier had signified his desire that there be "neither declamation nor tragedy" in the college. This letter is dated October 26, 1699, but Mgr Gosselin who quotes it in his book, *L'Instruction au Canada sous le régime français*, believes that Father Germain is here referring to an order of the bishop, of which we have no record, but which would date back to the *Tartuffe* episode. It is possible, however, that the order had just been pronounced, or at least renewed. We have already seen that the bishop's order of 1694 had been understood as condemning all plays, and that this order had not been infringed. At that time, then, the bishop had everything to gain by not stirring up the fiery old governor with further interdictions. But Frontenac had died in 1698, and as Saint-Vallier had made a declaration of principle on his arrival in the country, so the time of the inauguration of a governor might seem an auspicious moment for another such declaration. By doing away with college plays, or forbidding their renewal, just when the governor was entering upon his new duties, the bishop would make his position perfectly clear, and would show that he had no intention of renewing that battle of wills which he had so nearly lost the last time. A confirmation of this theory may be found in the fact that he returns to the question, in so far as the theatre proper is concerned, in the very next year, and shows plainly that it was still a burning one for him, and that his ideas on it had not changed. In a pastoral letter regulating the conduct of members of the diocese of Quebec and dated October 8, 1700,² we find that they are to abstain during

¹*Mémoires sur la vie de M. de Laval* (Cologne, 1761), 213-214.

²*Statuts, ordonnances et lettres pastorales de Monseigneur de Saint-Vallier, évêque de Québec pour le règlement de son diocèse* (Paris, 1703), 107.

the whole of Lent "not only from spectacles and gaming which are forbidden at all times," but even, as far as possible, from diversions which might be permitted at another time. Elsewhere in the same document, he renews his condemnation of the theatre, referring expressly to his order of January 16, 1694.

These words of Mgr. de Saint-Vallier constitute the last contemporary reference to the theatre under the French régime that a search through available material has revealed. The pastoral letters of Saint-Vallier continue to denounce evils such as blasphemy and immodesty in dress, evils which he had grouped with those inherent in the theatre, but he does not return to the question of the theatre. In 1730, there were great public festivals at Quebec to mark the birth of the dauphin, but it does not appear that any plays were presented. Bacqueville de la Potherie, Charlevoix, La Tour, the Swedish naturalist Kalm, all give sketches of the social life of Quebec, which they had seen at different times during the first half of the eighteenth century. None of them mentions theatricals although they speak of other ways in which the colonists amuse themselves. One is thus led to believe that the custom of presenting plays died out, to be renewed, probably, only after the conquest of Canada by the English.

We see, then, that the history of the theatre in Canada under the French régime is no more than the history of a few college spectacles, and of a few plays presented under the patronage of the governor. But the interest which attaches to those few dramatic performances is considerably augmented for us when we remember that drama was the literary form best suited to the needs of the colonists. For, of course, no books were printed in Canada under the old régime. Books were imported but they were rare and expensive. We must remember, too, that the colonists, though intelligent (and all the travellers remark on this quality in them), had, as a general rule, only the most elementary education. The drama was, therefore, the literary form which might have been for the great mass of colonists a concrete and living symbol of the glorious literary tradition of the mother country. That is why it is, perhaps, not uninteresting to define as exactly as possible the part that the drama did, in fact, play in the social life of New France.

MARGARET M. CAMERON

THE INDIAN POLICY OF HENRY HAMILTON A RE-VALUATION

"A LATE Menuv' of the Famous Hair Buyer General, Henry Hamilton Esqr. Lieut. Governor of DeTroit, hath allarmed us much," wrote George Rogers Clark to Patrick Henry on February 3, 1779.¹ As a result of Clark's epithet the name of Henry Hamilton has come to represent all that is cruel, base, cowardly, and dastardly in human nature. It places before us a sordid picture of the leading British military figure of the Old North-west during the War for American Independence,—a picture painted by American historians in what seems to be more or less general agreement.² Many circumstances have united in preserving this picture: ignorance of the "West" of 1779 and of the forces acting on the frontier, inadequate knowledge of Hamilton, and motives of patriotism. Thus an injustice has been done which age has so hallowed that few have submitted it to the violet rays of critical research. Was Henry Hamilton a hair-buyer or the only hair-buyer? Did he pay "very high prices in good for scalps" as one contemporary claimed?³ Was the iniquitous practice of paying for scalps a characteristic only of the British officials, or did the colonials make similar efforts to enlist the aid of the Indians? In general must we level charges of inhumanity against Henry Hamilton alone, or against the leaders on both sides?⁴ Such questions can be met only by a careful and fair examination of all the available evidence. This article is not intended as a vindication of Hamilton or of his work. Its purpose is, simply, to correct some of the mistaken notions that are current regarding him, and to refute some of the charges that have been made.

The setting of the drama in which Hamilton played his part was the vast stretch of the Old North-west; an almost illimitable

¹*Illinois Historical Collections* (Springfield, 1904), VIII, 97.

²Possibly the fairest treatments are found in J. A. James, *The Life of George Rogers Clark* (Chicago, 1928); M. M. Quaife, *The Capture of Old Vincennes* (Indianapolis, 1927). Frederick Palmer, *Clark on the Ohio* (New York, 1929), is a eulogy of Clark and largely a vilification of Hamilton.

³R. G. Thwaites and L. P. Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio* (Madison, 1912), 231-232.

⁴Quaife, *op. cit.*, xix-xx.

wilderness, gloomy and dangerous, over whose hills and valleys ravaged the Indian, the colonial, and the redcoat in the stirring days from 1775 to 1783. In this area the redmen would be a deciding factor in any contest, and they were responsible to a large degree for many of the crimes committed. Thus the query arises, were the English alone in their attempts to win over the children of the forest or only more successful?¹

Before the commencement of hostilities, Professor James claims that the leaders on both sides were considering the Indians as a factor in the struggle.² Indeed, from their earliest settlements in the western hemisphere, the European nations had used the redmen in their contests. There was little or no compunction over using them, no more than when the Americans and French used negro troops in the World War. John Adams, in a communication to James Warren in June of 1775, noted that the Indians intended to remain neutral, but he expected that the English would use them as the French had done in the previous war.³ He knew that the Indians were cruel, but did not seem averse to employing them. Early in March the Massachusetts congress accepted the services of some nearby Indians and enlisted them as minute-men.⁴ In April, the same body made an appeal to the Iroquois to "whet their hatchet, and be prepared to defend our liberties and lives."⁵ They further appealed to them on the ground that the colonials were to be deprived of their guns and powder, and in consequence the Indians would be unable to secure the means of procuring food and raiment. Later, the same congress made approaches to win over the Indians far to the north-east; for, on the fifteenth of May, they addressed the natives of Nova Scotia as their "friends and good brothers", informing them that the Indians of Stockbridge had joined their forces and some had enlisted as soldiers.⁶ Captain John Lane was sent to raise a company among these folk.

No one can determine which of the invitations to take up arms, issued on May 24 by Colonel Guy Johnson and Ethan Allen, met with the earlier response.⁷ Allen, in attempting to

¹*Ibid.*

²*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, xv.

³*Massachusetts Historical Collections* (Boston, 1792-), LXII, 52-53.

⁴*American Archives*, 4th series (Washington, 1837-53), I, 1347.

⁵*Ibid.*, 1349.

⁶Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Boston, 1888), VI, 614.

⁷*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, II, 665.

win some of the Canadian tribes to help him fight the king's regulars, said:

I want to have you warriors come and see me, and help me fight the King's Regular Troops. You know they stand all along close together, rank and file, and my men fight as Indians do, and I want you warriors to join with me and my warriors, like brothers, and ambush the Regulars; if you will, I will give you money, blankets, tomahawks, knives, paint, and anything that there is in the army, just like brothers; and I will go with you into the woods to scout; and my men and your men will sleep together, and eat and drink together, and fight Regulars, because they first killed our brothers.

Ye know my warriors must fight, but if you our brother Indians do not fight on either side, we will still be friends and brothers; and you may come and hunt in our woods, and come with your canoes in the lake, and let us have venison at our forts on the lake, and have rum, bread, and what you want and be like brothers.¹

Thus by general or specific efforts, at the very outbreak of hostilities, the Americans secured the services of such Indians as were willing to enlist. These efforts were all made before the English made any whatever, but the latter followed so closely that the casual observer is very easily confused.

The Indians on the American side made little or no real contribution in a military sense. Their services were far from conspicuous. A fondness for liquor was their undoing. Some of them, realizing this weakness, sent a petition to congress requesting that all forms of intoxicants be kept out of their way. This request was granted.² During the siege of Boston in 1775 the Indians occasionally picked off a Britisher.³ Guy Johnson claimed that the Americans used Indians in the battle of Long Island, and that some of them were taken prisoners.⁴ In October, 1776, Washington applied for them as scouts.⁵ In August, 1778, during the battle of King's Bridge, all of the Stockbridge Indians were ambuscaded with very heavy losses.⁶ The presence of Indians on the American side has been ignored by most writers. Failure

¹*Ibid.*, 713.

²*Ibid.*, 1049, 1983.

³Richard Frothingham, *History of the Siege of Boston* (6th ed., Boston, 1903), 212-213.

⁴E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *New York Colonial Documents* (Albany, 1855), VIII, 740.

⁵*Amer. Arch.*, 5th ser., II, 1120.

⁶*Magazine of American History* (New York, 1877), V, 187.

to win the redmen does not lessen the responsibility for the intent; and does prove that the Americans were not averse to using them.

On the other hand, there can be no doubt that the Continental Congress at first bent its energy to keep the Indians neutral. In an address prepared for the Six Nations in July, 1775, the struggle was declared to be only a family quarrel between the colonials and England, in which the Indians could in no way be concerned.¹ They were urged to remain at home and keep the hatchet "deeply buried." Soon afterwards congress learned that General Carleton had planned to use Indians against the northern frontier. This led it to create three departments of Indian affairs which had the duty of caring for the distribution of arms, ammunition, and clothing.²

Gradually congress changed its attitude. In July, 1775, Franklin proposed a plan to make an alliance "offensive and defensive" with the Six Nations.³ In December it was resolved to use the Indians of Maine if the necessity arose.⁴ On May 25, 1776, congress, overcoming all opposition, declared "it is highly expedient to engage the Indians in the service of the United States";⁵ and, about one week later, Washington was given the authority to employ in Canada a number of Indians not to exceed two thousand.⁶ It is very difficult to harmonize this action with the arraignment of George III in the Declaration of Independence, where congress declared that "he has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions."⁷ On July 8, Washington was authorized to call out the Indians of the St. John, Nova Scotia, and Penobscot tribes.⁸ On the same day congress made an address to the people of England,⁹ and on July 28, in an appeal to the people of Ireland, it asserted that "wild and barbarous savages of the wilderness have been solicited by gifts to take up the hatchet

¹W. Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress* (Washington, 1904), II, 182; *Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, II, 1882.

²*Ibid.*, 1879.

³*Journals of the Continental Congress*, II, 198.

⁴*Ibid.*, III, 401.

⁵*Ibid.*, IV, 394.

⁶*Ibid.*, 412.

⁷William MacDonald, *Documentary Source Book of American History* (New York, 1918), 193.

⁸*Journals of the Continental Congress*, V, 527.

⁹*Ibid.*, II, 163.

against us, and instigated to deluge our settlements with the blood of defenceless women and children."¹ Abigail Adams wrote to Mrs. Warren in August, 1777:

The History and the Events of the present day must fill every Human Brest with Horror. Every week produces some Horrid Scene perpetrated by our Barbarous foes. Not content with a uniform Series of Cruelties practiced by their own Hands, but they must let loose the infernal savages, those 'dogs of warr' and cry Havock to them. Cruelty, impiety, and an utter oblivion of the natural Sentiments of probity and Honour with the violation of all laws Humane and Divine, rise at one view and characterize a George, a How, and a Burgoine.²

In spite of such impressions of horror, both sides were apparently willing to let loose the "Hell-hounds of the Forest", as General Brodhead characterized the Indians.³

The British officials early in June of 1775 sought to employ the savages on the frontier.⁴ General Gage urged that Carleton be allowed to use the Canadians and Indians, as he was of the opinion that the "rebels" had used them after the capture of Ticonderoga. Later, the government ordered the raising of a unit of redmen and promised presents in abundance. Efforts were immediately put forth, and soon hundreds of Indians joined the English army at Montreal.⁵ In the following month, on July 24, 1775, the Earl of Dartmouth advised Colonel Guy Johnson that he should lose no time in inducing the Six Nations to "take up the hatchet against his Majesty's rebellious subjects in America."⁶ Henry Hamilton soon after reaching Detroit, proposed the use of Indians.⁷ Nor did he have long to wait, for he was soon commanded to organize the Indians under "suitable leaders" to be used where most needed.⁸ It was not long before Hamilton reported to his superiors that he had fully one thousand warriors ready to overrun the frontiers.⁹

¹*Ibid.*, 215-216.

²*Mass. Hist. Colls.*, LXXII, 358.

³*Wisconsin Historical Collections* (Madison, 1855), XXIV, 279.

⁴*Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections* (Lansing, 1877), IX, *passim*; Winsor, *op. cit.*, VI, 618; *Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, III, 6.

⁵*New York Col. Docs.*, VIII, 636.

⁶*Ibid.*, 596.

⁷*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, IX, 347.

⁸*Ibid.*, 344.

⁹*Ibid.*, 469.

But not all the English were in favour of using the Indians. Possibly it was more shocking to the cultivated Britisher, far removed from the redman's excesses, than to the American, whose life was spent in close contact with the savages. The acrimonious attack of Chatham on North for using the "children of the Forest" is well known.¹ Burke sarcastically burlesqued the speech of Burgoyne to the Iroquois.² Lieutenant-Governor Abbot at Detroit in 1778 appealed to Carleton not to continue the use of Indians. He said: "It is not people in arms that Indians will ever daringly attack, but the poor inoffensive families who fly to the deserts to be out of trouble, and who are inhumanly butchered, sparing neither women or children."³ Perhaps Captain Bird, of all the western officers, was the most opposed to the use of the savages. He offered the Wyandots four hundred dollars in 1779 if they would spare the life of one of their captives. When they refused, he upbraided them in no uncertain terms which aroused their anger.⁴ "You cowards," he is recorded as saying, "is that all you can do to kill a poor innocent prisoner? You dare not show your faces where an Army is, but there you are busy when you have nothing to fear. Get away from me. Never will I have to do with such as you are and be guilty in such a murder as you have committed." Hamilton did not always seem anxious to use the savages. In June, 1777, he wrote to Germain: "Would to God this storm which is ready to fall on the Frontiers could be directed upon the guilty heads of those wretches who have raised it, and pass by the miserable many who must feel its fatal effects."⁵ Hamilton well realized that the Indians would attack mainly the defenceless and innocent people.

It was very difficult to hold the allegiance of the Indians. When the Americans were successful in battle they came over to their side; when the Americans lost the redmen wavered or went at once to the English. This is not at all surprising. Perhaps the English were more successful in holding the Indians' allegiance, as they had large supplies of presents, guns, powder, and rum. Another great factor in determining the redmen's allegiance was the stirring of their jealousy by the constant encroachments upon their lands. Daniel Boone and his "Long Knives" were well

¹*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, xxxix.

²John Fiske, *The American Revolution* (Boston, 1896), I, 276.

³Canadian Archives, B, CXXII, 59.

⁴*Pennsylvania Archives*, 5th series (Harrisburg, 1906), VII, 524.

⁵Canadian Archives, Q, XIV, 74.

established in Kentucky by 1775.¹ In spite of the declaration of congress that no settlements should be made beyond the line agreed upon in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix,² the frontiersmen continued to push the settled area towards the "setting sun" in total disregard of the Indians.³ Again, these men killed friendly Indians, waylaid hunters, and even employed scouting parties who were guilty of the most outrageous acts.⁴ It was quite impossible to make the Indian fight according to any rules of civilized warfare, if war is civilized. The English cannot be condemned any more severely than the Americans for using the Indians, for over and over again they vigorously denounce the Indian methods. Over and over again, the officers were urged not to allow the savage free rein, and they deplore, as has been shown, the acts of barbaric cruelty and wantonness committed. Nowhere can one find, on either side, a serious attempt to do away with the Indians' services.

The use made of the Indians was responsible for many of the barbarous acts committed upon the frontier. Nevertheless they were not entirely to blame. From the very earliest days in colonial history the legislatures of the various colonies had offered rewards for scalps.⁵ Such bounties were very common—so common,

¹Archibald Henderson, *The Conquest of the Old Southwest* (New York, 1920), 144-160.

²*Journals of Congress*, IV, 318.

³From 1775 to November 1778, the amount of Indian lands thus acquired was claimed to be seventy million acres. See *Ill. Hist. Colls.* for 1888, xxv.

⁴Thwaites and Kellog, *Revolution on the Upper Ohio*, 27, 34.

⁵In November, 1724, John Lovewell, Josiah Farmell, and Jonathan Robbins, presented a "Humble Memorial" to the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, in which they set forth that they, with forty or fifty others, were "inclined to range and keep out in the woods for several months together, in order to kill and destroy their Indian enemy, provided they could meet with encouragement suitable." The Court on November 17 authorized the formation of a company, the men to receive "two shillings and six pence per diem, the sum of one hundred pounds for each male scalp, and the other premiums established by law to volunteers without pay or subsistence,"—Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, VI, 681. Sir William Johnson was "quite pestered every day with parties returning with prisoners and scalps, and without a penny to pay them with,"—W. L. Stone, *Life and Times of Sir William Johnson* (Albany, 1865), I, 255, 342. On June 12, 1764, Pennsylvania offered bounties for scalps in response to a petition from the frontiersmen,—*Pennsylvania Colonial Records* (Harrisburg, 1838), IX, 141, 189.

In the *Pennsylvania Archives*, III, 199, is a very curious letter, of June 30, 1757, from the superintendent of Indian affairs in the Southern Department to the governor of Maryland, in which the author states that the several colonies were fond of giving large rewards for scalps; rewards which were not only given to the whites but also to the Indians, who often made several scalps out of one. "Here are now", he writes,

indeed, that they were given the very descriptive and appropriate name of "scalp-money." It was the effect of the frontier life, as Professor Turner has so clearly pointed out, which made men act like savages all unconsciously. The frontier experience put the knife and tomahawk in the white man's hand and ran an Indian palisade around him. He simply yielded to his environment.¹

During the War of Independence, the colonial legislatures did not hesitate to continue this practice of paying for scalps. In September of 1776 a committee of the South Carolina assembly recommended that £75 be paid for every Indian scalp "produced—thereof in Charlestown." Joseph Reed, president of the Pennsylvania legislature, favoured giving rewards for scalps, and wrote to Lieutenant-Colonel Lochry to that effect. The latter replied on May 1, 1779:

You desire, sir, in your letter if the Inhabitants on the Frontiers would desire a reward on Indian scalps. I have consulted with a number on this head, who all seem of opinion that a reward for scalps would be of excellent use at this time, and would give spirit and alacrity to our young men, and make it their Interest to be constantly on the scout.²

Reed wrote to Colonel Brodhead that there seemed to be some reluctance on the part of congress and General Washington about a reward for scalps, as they feared that the nation's enemies would make it a national reproach. He, therefore, advised Brodhead to act as congress should direct.³ These objections having been overcome in April, 1780, the executive council of Pennsylvania authorized the lieutenant of Northumberland to offer fifteen hundred dollars for every white or Indian prisoner,

"twenty scalps hanging out to publick view which are well known to have been made out of five Frenchmen killed. What a sum (at £50 each) would they produce if carried to Maryland, where the artifice would not probably be discovered!"

In some colonies there was a regular scale of prices, so much for a man's scalp, so much for a woman's, and so much for a child's. James Cochran in April, 1729, produced two scalps before the lieutenant-governor and council of Massachusetts, and received a reward of £200: "and for a further Encouragement to Young Men and others to perform Bold and Hardy Actions in this Indian War, His Honour the Lieutenant Governor has pleased to make him a Serjeant in the Forces,"—*Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, VII, 276.

¹F. J. Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1921), 4.

²*Penn. Arch.*, VII, 362.

³*Ibid.*, 569-570.

if the former was acting with the latter, and for every Indian scalp, one thousand dollars.¹ This bounty was increased to twenty-five hundred dollars some time later.² These large rewards did not bring the desired returns, for, in July, Reed stated that the attempts to get scalps were unsuccessful, and hoped that perseverance and time would produce better results.³ "We cannot help thinking," he writes, "that it is the only effectual mode to carry on an Indian war, and that a mere Offensive System is not only attended with an enormous Expense, but to very little adequate Purpose." Reed did not have long to wait, for in September, Colonel Hunter wrote him that his volunteers had had some success in a scalping way. Two scalps, "as you will see by ye Certificate," he added, were taken about one hundred and fifty miles from Fort Pitt.⁴

In his expedition against the Delawares in April, 1781, Colonel Brodhead, who was a "humane and chivalric officer", allowed his men to bind some Indians and lead them a small distance below Fort Pitt, where they were dispatched with tomahawks and spears, and then scalped.⁵ According to the writer, this was completely justified and in accord with the usages of war.⁶ Brodhead, in a report of his expedition of May, 1781, to Reed, speaks of his men killing "one of the greatest villains" and bringing in his scalp.⁷ He was afraid, however, that the high premium placed upon scalps would be employed by malicious frontiersmen against the friendly Delawares, otherwise he favoured the bounties.⁸ Later he recommended one of his officers for advancement, an officer whom he mentions as leading a scalping party.⁹ Colonel Lochry advised President Reed that he received the proclamations offering a large premium for scalps and adds, "I hope the reward offered will answer a good End."¹⁰ Brodhead made a treaty with the Wyandots and Shawanese in 1779, and he informed Washington that he promised them peace, "provided they take

¹ *Penn. Col. Rec.*, XII, 311.

² *Ibid.*, 328.

³ *Penn. Arch.*, VII, 393.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 568. Other rewards were claimed and paid in 1781 and 1782. See *Penn. Col. Rec.*, XII, 362; XIII, 201.

⁵ *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 379.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 399

⁸ *Ibid.*, 183.

⁹ *Penn. Arch.*, VIII, 301.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 283.

as many prisoners and scalps from the enemy as they have done us."¹

General Sullivan was not averse to see Indians scalped. In 1779 he speaks of seeing eight warriors' scalps taken,² and many like revolting details are scattered throughout his journal.³

Seneca Sachems asserted that General Schuyler offered them two hundred and fifty dollars for Butler's scalp.⁴ Later he is accused of inviting Sir John Johnson down to New York, promising him protection, and at the same time employing an Indian messenger to bring his scalp if he (Johnson) refused to come down.⁵ For this deed Schuyler promised a reward of one hundred dollars. Guy Johnson claimed that the American colonies had a fixed price for scalps.⁶ One somewhat unreliable report claims that Washington himself offered three hundred dollars for a scalp.⁷ There might be cited many examples of the frontiersmen tomahawking, scalping, and shooting even the friendly Indians.⁸

The records, on the other hand, do not show that the British officials offered rewards, usually money for every American scalp. It was their policy to use the Indians as we have seen, but with proper restraints.⁹ Henry Hamilton used every means possible to keep the Indians from scalping their victims. Even the Virginia council, which investigated Hamilton's conduct when he was a prisoner in their midst, never published any data bearing upon the question of Hamilton's paying for scalps.¹⁰ The council reported that he gave standing rewards for scalps, and none for prisoners, which induced the Indians to put their captives to death "and carry their scalps to the Governor, who welcomes their return and success by a discharge of cannon."¹¹ No one was

¹John Almon, ed., *The Remembrancer* (London, 1775), IX, 153.

²*Ibid.*

³General Sullivan's journal is published by the Massachusetts Historical Society in their *Proceedings* for 1886.

⁴*Amer. Arch.*, 4th series, V, 1102.

⁵*Ibid.*, 5th series, I, 866.

⁶*New York Col. Docs.*, VIII, 740.

⁷*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XII, 106.

⁸*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XXIII, 376, 378, 385. Other shocking acts are noted in, G. M. Wrong, *Washington and His Comrades in Arms* (New Haven, 1921), 31.

⁹Germaine to Carleton, March, 1777, *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, IX, 347, 490, advised him to have Hamilton use the Indians, placing proper persons at their head and to "restrain them from committing violence on the well affected and inoffensive inhabitants."

¹⁰*The Remembrancer*, VII, 73.

¹¹*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, VIII, 338-339.

a greater subject of hatred to the Virginians than Hamilton, so that the evidence is that of greatly biased men. They based their charges of cruelty against Hamilton largely upon the assertions of John Dodge. Little credit can be given to his testimony, as he was a rascal and scoundrel, capable of more atrocious crimes than Hamilton has been credited with.¹ John Leeth has also been quoted to prove that Hamilton was the instigator of all the Indians' cruelty;² but his testimony, like that of Daniel Sullivan, who was a prisoner in Detroit in 1777, is not of great value as these men contradict themselves. Sullivan was not an eye-witness to any act of cruelty, but said that he was told that Governor Hamilton

did all in his Power to induce all nations of Indians to massacre the Frontier Inhabitants . . . and paid very high prices in Goods for the Scalps the Indians brought in. That he likewise pays for Prisoners but does not redeem them from the Savages and says he will not do it until the Expiration of the present Warr.³

Sullivan, himself, found Hamilton very friendly indeed, so friendly that he allowed him absolute freedom of the fort and told him he would be his friend.⁴ Jefferson, who had some correspondence with Hamilton while the latter was a prisoner at Williamsburgh, dwells at great length upon the former governor of Detroit being responsible for the barbarities of the Indians; but never once makes any charge against him of paying for scalps.⁵ Again, evidence is shown that among the goods listed at Detroit, during the days of Hamilton, which included blankets, kettles, razors, and rum, were one hundred and fifty scalping knives.⁶ This has been used as conclusive evidence that Hamilton encouraged the Indians to scalp their victims. On the contrary such knives were

¹Dodge published a pamphlet entitled *An Entertaining Narrative of the Cruel and Barbarous Treatment and extreme Sufferings of Mr. John Dodge during his Captivity*, etc. (Danvers, 1780). It is also published in *The Remembrancer*, VI. C. M. Burton has recently republished it (Cedar Rapids, 1909). For the history of Dodge consult C. W. Alvord, *Cahokia and Kaskaskia Records and Ill. Hist. Colls.*, II, VIII, *passim*. Quaife, *The Capture of Old Vincennes*, xxi, says of Dodge, "one of the choicest rascals in the pages of American history."

²R. G. Thwaites, *Leeth's Narrative* (Cleveland, 1904).

³Thwaites and Kellogg, *Frontier Defense on the Upper Ohio 1775-1777* (Madison, 1908), 231-232.

⁴*Ibid.*, 231.

⁵*Calendar of Virginia State Papers* (Richmond, 1875), I, 321 *et seq.*

⁶*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, IX, 471.

the regular equipment of traders and Indians, as well as of frontier soldiers.¹

The real policy of Hamilton is shown to be quite humane when a more critical examination of the sources is made. In a large council of the Indians at Detroit in June of 1778, previous to his campaign against Clark at Vincennes, Hamilton, urging the braves to kill their enemies, not to torture or scalp them, said:²

I cannot but praise the behavior of the Indian nations, who have taken hold of their Father's axe and who have acted as men. I hope you'll act the same part and not redden your axe with the blood of women and children. I speak to you who are men. . . . Our intention is never to act against children, but against men.³

Hamilton informed Shelburne that in June, 1777, he received Carleton's order to employ the Indians, and at once he appointed proper persons to act as interpreters for the various tribes.⁴ He adds:

No party was sent out without one or more white persons, who had orders and instructions in writing to attend to the behaviour of the Indians, protect defenceless persons, and prevent any insult or barbarity being exercised on the Prisoners. . . . Before any Parties were sent out, I constantly addressed the Indians pointing out to them the advantages which must in future result to them, from sparing the lives of their prisoners who whenever a peace should take place would testify to their humanity and be successful mediators between the Americans and themselves.⁵

Between the months of June, 1777, and October, 1778, one hundred and twenty-nine persons were brought into Detroit by the Indians, and the commander testified that not one of them complained of the cruelty of the Indians or want of tenderness and generosity on the part of their "employers."⁶ In 1778, some Indians, scouts of Hamilton, captured a major and thirty-seven men with all their arms.⁷ Hamilton advised Lord Shelburne

¹T. Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West* (New York, 1889), I, 225, describes General Andrew Lewis's forces as follows: "Each carried his flintlock, his tomahawk, and scalping knife."

²*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, IX, 456.

³*Ibid.*, 456-457.

⁴Canadian Archives, *Shelburne Correspondence*, LXVI, 52.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*, 63.

⁷*Ibid.*

that not one of this group was scalped or put to death. The major escaped and was so much pleased with the treatment accorded him that he had the generosity to go to Williamsburgh in 1779, when Hamilton was confined there, and to "remonstrate against the injustice and inhumanity of the governor and council of Virginia."¹

In the autumn of 1778, Henry Hamilton set out from Detroit to recapture Vincennes. A host of Indian warriors accompanied him. He left behind at the post "one hundred and twenty-nine prisoners of different ages and sexes, who seemed heartily grateful for their humane treatment, being clothed and fed at the expense of the crown, and allowed all liberty within the settlement."² The journey was a very trying one and the commander used every means possible to keep from arousing the ferocity of the Indians "which I wished of all things to avoid", he wrote.³ Parties were dispatched as the army neared Vincennes to intercept messengers, but with strict orders not to suffer any violence to the captives.⁴

Hamilton appears in a better light upon critical examination of the sources, but his picture of Colonel Clark is quite contrary to the one found in many histories. Clark captured a party sent out from Vincennes by Hamilton and had "one tomahawked immediately."⁵ "The rest", in the words of Hamilton,⁶

setting on the ground in a ring bound (bound in a circle)—seeing by the fate of their comrade what they had to expect, the next on his left sang his death song, and was in turn tomahawked, the rest underwent the same fate; only one was saved at the intercession of a rebel officer, who pleaded for him telling Colonel Clark that the savage's father had formerly spared his life. The chief of this party, after having the hatchet struck in his head, took it out himself, and delivered it to the inhuman monster who struck him first, who repeated his stroke a second and a third time, after which the miserable spectacle was dragged by the rope about his neck to the river, thrown in, and suffered to spend still a few moments of his

¹*Ibid.*

²*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, IX, 490.

³*Ibid.*, 494.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Ibid.*, 501. Clark in his memoir speaks of his men scalping two Indians. See *Ill. Hist. Colls.*, I, 252.

⁶Quaife, *The Capture of Old Vincennes*, 194 et seq.

life in fruitless strugglings. . . . Mr. Francis Maisonville¹ was set in a chair . . . and by Colonel Clark's order a man came with a scalping knife, who hesitating to proceed to this excess of barbarity on a defenceless wretch, Colonel Clark with an imprecation told him to proceed, and when a piece of the scalp had been raised the man stopped his hand, he was again ordered to proceed. . . . Colonel Clark yet reeking with the blood of those unhappy victims came to the Esplanade before the Fort gate where I had agreed to meet him and treat of the Surrender of the Garrison. He spoke with rapture of his late achievement, while he washed off[f] the blood from his hands stained in this inhuman sacrifice.²

Hamilton had great difficulty in treating with Clark over his surrender.³ Clark had put many of the prisoners "in neck irons, fetters, and hand-cuffs", against which Hamilton protested. The victorious leader only smiled contemptuously, turned away, and continued with his cruel work.⁴ The scalps of the slaughtered Indians were hung upon the English tents.⁵ The British were twice forced in the night to flee to the quarters of Clark for security as men, greatly intoxicated, attempted to shoot up their quarters.⁶ For these attempts no punishment ensued.⁷ One can find few more inhuman pictures than the treatment accorded Hamilton from the time of his surrender in February, 1779, to his release from the prison at Williamsburgh, in 1781.⁸ Thus we find by an examination of the contemporary evidence that Hamilton's actions appear in a favourable light if compared with those of his opponents.

What conclusion may be reached with regard to other British officers? In general it appears that they used every means

¹Maisonville was saved by his brother's intercession. He was sent to Williamsburgh with Hamilton where, from long and solitary confinement, he lost his reason. The surgeon, who attended him, begged Jefferson to allow the poor man his freedom, but nothing was done. He later committed suicide. *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, IX, 501-502.

²*Ibid.*

³*Ibid.*, 505.

⁴*Ibid.*

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸For Hamilton's account of his experience, see the excerpts from his diary in *Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, IX, 489-516. The original diary of Hamilton was given to Harvard Library by Mrs. C. L. Rice a collateral descendant of Captain Hamilton in January, 1902. The diary is from August 6, 1778, to June 16, 1779. See Quaife, *The Capture of Old Vincennes*.

available to keep the Indians from scalping their victims and resorting to other forms of cruelty. De Peyster, who succeeded Hamilton at Detroit, was very careful to urge the warriors to bring in their captives alive.¹ He said to the Delawares in 1781: "I am pleased when I see what you call *live meat*, because I can speak to it, and get information. Scalps serve to show you have seen the enemy, but they are of no use to me, I cannot speak to them." In 1779 he wrote Haldimand of the Indians who had been sent to Kaskaskia under Mr. Gautier as follows:² "They are gone with promises to bring me some prisoners from Kaskaskia. Scalps I have positively forbid to prevent cruelty." Haldimand replied that he was of the opinion that the Indians should not be employed against the Illinois since "cruelties alone would be the result," but that they ought not to be discouraged too much as they could be useful in gaining intelligence; "every caution against cruelty," he adds, "I am persuaded you will observe."³

The Indians were well aware of De Peyster's attitude. In a council at Detroit in 1782, the chiefs assembled mentioned that they had had very strict orders to treat their prisoners with fairness, that the commander had told them it was contrary to the laws of God and the customs of nations to treat captives cruelly.⁴ De Peyster advised them to treat all prisoners with humanity, and explained to them that it was greatly to their interest to do so.⁵ His admonitions had some effect for, in August, 1782, he wrote Captain McKee that the good advice given to the braves had greatly civilized them.⁶ Later, when he heard that the Delawares had put all their prisoners to death with great cruelty, he ordered McKee to inform the chiefs that such actions would not be "countenanced by their English Father",⁷ and that, if they were continued, he would have to recall the British troops and leave the Indians to the mercy of the Americans.⁸ General Powell at Niagara bears testimony to De Peyster's earnest efforts to curb the cruelty of the Indians. In a letter to Haldimand, written shortly after he left Detroit, Powell gives his hearty approval to De Peyster's work, and adds that he has informed

¹Wis. Hist. Colls., XXIV, 376.

²Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls., IX, 382.

³Canadian Archives, B, XCVI, Pt. I, 399.

⁴Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls., XI, 326.

⁵Ibid., 328.

⁶Ibid., X, 631.

⁷Ibid., 623.

⁸Canadian Archives, *Claus Papers*, III, 147.

the redmen that, if they persisted in their shocking cruelties, "they would be deprived of every assistance and protection the Troops used to give them."¹ Towards the close of the war, De Peyster used every effort to keep the Indians within bounds. In 1783, he wrote McKee to advise Major Wells and the people of Kentucky "that nothing had been wanting on our part to stop the Indians from committing further Depredations on the Frontiers",² and he ordered McKee to insist decisively that the chiefs cause their warriors to cease scalping.³ Writing to Haldimand he urged him to use every means possible to bring about peace, so that the frontier might be saved from further scalping parties.⁴

Lieutenant-Governor Abbot of Detroit was always opposed to using the Indians, as he feared that they would only scalp their victims. He advocated making them a neutral nation,⁵ but that was quite impossible as the Indians refused to be neutral. Great quantities of presents, he believed, would prevent the Indians from joining the enemy, and would still save the in-offensive families from being inhumanly butchered and scalped.⁶ Abbot was very bold in opposing the use of the redman. Another illustration of the same attitude is seen in Major McLean's reply to Washington, who requested the prevention of any further unnecessary and wanton acts of cruelty by the Indians on the frontiersmen.⁷ McLean stated that, upon receiving positive orders from General Haldimand to restrain the Indians, they, in spite of great provocation, had implicitly followed his commands, except one small group who had brought in two scalps, for which they were publicly reprimanded. "Not only every act of cruelty but even of retaliation," he adds, "have ceased due to Haldimand's orders." But, he notes:

The publishing of such base and scandalous falsehoods, as have appeared in the Albany and Boston papers, must be intended for the most wicked purposes, that of inflaming the minds of the ignorant multitude and to induce them to commit acts of wanton cruelty against the Indians. . . . The Blessings of Peace being now restored, I trust in God, that all animosities shall cease and that mutual

¹*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, XX, 45.

²Canadian Archives, *Claus Papers*, III, 221.

³*Ibid.*, 147.

⁴*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, X, 650.

⁵Canadian Archives Report, for 1881-1884, 14; 1887, 207.

⁶*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, IX, 489.

⁷*Ibid.*, XX, 102.

Harmony and real Reconciliation shall take place and Feud and Discord be buried in oblivion.¹

No one was more shocked at the treatment accorded to Colonel Crawford than Frederick Haldimand.² He informed De Peyster that he was certain every possible argument had been used to prevent that unhappy event, and that no doubt it arose out of the massacre of the Moravian Indians.³ But this was no excuse, he felt, and he ordered that the Indians be informed how deeply concerned he was at their following so base an example, and that they be told of his abhorrence of all acts of cruelty.⁴ De Peyster replied that he had done everything in his power to prevent the terrible outrages even to the extent of threatening to withdraw the troops.⁵

Perhaps the greatest fabrication and one which gained great credence was Franklin's "Bundle of Scalps" story.⁶ This story, which had a wide circulation, died out, but about the second quarter of the nineteenth century was revived. Franklin, greatly disturbed over the horrors of the war, made up the fictitious story about the scalps in order to bring home the war to the minds of the rulers of England, so Parton claims. James Hutton writing to Lord Shelburne in 1792 says:

I have answered him [Franklin] that the story of the Bales of Scalps must be a Romance, as our Government always gives money to prevent scalps, and that neither the K. nor the Old or present Ministry countenance such Scalps and that it is forgery to blacken us.⁷

Romance and forgery the story was, as has been shown.⁸

The foregoing study leads inevitably to the following conclusions. There seems to be no warrant for believing that Henry Hamilton was a hair-buyer, or any more to be censured than other leaders on both sides of the controversy. Much more conclusive

¹*Ibid.*, XX, 113-114.

²*Ibid.*, X, 598.

³For the story of the massacre see Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, II, 185 *et seq.*

⁴*Mich. Pion. and Hist. Colls.*, X, 598.

⁵*Ibid.*, 629.

⁶*The Remembrancer*, XIV, 185; W. L. Stone, *The Life of Joseph Brant* (New York, 1838), I, Appendix A; J. Parton, *Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin* (New York, 1864), II, 436-437.

⁷Canadian Archives, *Shelburne Correspondence*, CCXVII, 150.

⁸Parton, *op. cit.*

evidence must be produced before the British government or any of its officials are finally convicted of having offered rewards for scalps, either in money or in kind, or that they deliberately stirred up the Indians to commit deeds of gross savagery. The mere showing that scalps were often found at the posts does not prove that the Indians were paid for them.

NELSON VANCE RUSSELL

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE DIARY OF AN EARLY ENGLISH SETTLER IN QUEBEC

FOR nearly seventy years the Van Vliet family of Lacolle, Quebec, have treasured an old folio volume bound in shabby, stamped leather, and marked in gold with the word "Ledger." They have carefully preserved it because it contains the recollections and diary of Traver Van Vliet, the grandfather, and great-grandfather, of living members of the family, and because it gives the only known record of the family's settlement in Lacolle, and of early conditions in that part of the province.

Traver Van Vliet was of Dutch descent, his great-great-grandfather, Adriaen Gerritsen Van Vliet, having reached New Amsterdam from Holland, it is believed, in 1662. His parents, John Van Vliet and Eleanor Traver, had been born and brought up in Dutchess county, New York, and had removed to Alburgh about 1787, thinking, so the family tradition goes, that they were in Quebec and safe from the persecution under which their fathers had already suffered as Tory sympathizers. The story of their second removal is told in the diary. As soon as they discovered that they were still in the United States, they prepared to leave, moving through the woods on sleighs to Champlain, crossing Lake Champlain in canoes, and, in 1802, settling near Lacolle. Here things would have gone badly with the family if the father had not been a workman who could turn his hand to many jobs with equal success.

In after years Traver seems to have inherited something of his father's versatility, for he was successively a storekeeper, a carpenter, a joiner, a saw-mill and foundry owner, a militiaman, a postmaster, and a Sunday school superintendent. Furthermore, the old volume proves that he was a careful business man. Before being utilized as a diary, it was apparently employed as it was originally intended to be: some dozen pages at the beginning—ruled as all in the book are for pounds, shillings, and pence—record business transactions from 1842 to 1856. Here are interesting accounts of the cost of food, clothing, implements, and labour. One item notes the payment of 7s. 6d. to a labourer for two days' work. Others place the price of a pound of butter at

8d., of a quart of molasses at 7½d., of two bushels of wheat at 5s., of seven pounds of beef at 1s. 9d., of pairs of shoes for his wife and child at 11s. 6d., of a pair for himself at 15s., of a bedstead at 12s. 6d., and of a plough at £11 10s. Here, too, are accounts of his business with fellow villagers, Alonzo Force, Ottis Warren, Robert Cottingham, Benjamin Manning, Henry Hoyle, Nercist Noel, Uriah Traver, Edward March, and numerous others.

Almost all the names are English and the fact throws an interesting side-light on Lacolle, and gives an added importance to Traver Van Vliet's diary. It is generally assumed that rural Quebec, except for the eastern townships, is exclusively French. Lacolle, situated about thirty-seven miles from Montreal on the King Edward highway leading into the United States, is certainly among French surroundings, but its own traditions have always been English. In Traver Van Vliet's time it was even more English than it is now. The importance of his diary lies in the picture it gives of this early English settlement in a French neighbourhood, a settlement which probably will, in time, be swallowed up and forgotten.

He has described the village as it was in 1831 when he and his brother were building a house there. It had no church, mechanic shop, tavern, grist mill, foundry, or tannery, and but one store. The only other buildings were two barracks built during the war of 1812, two saw-mills, a carding shop, a potashery, and the homes of their owners and of the few *censitaires* in the neighbourhood.

The whole of the volume, however, is not given over to these reminiscences. The ledger, in its present state, contains some two hundred and seventy-five pages, of which fifty are either blank, or are taken up with accounts, rough notes, and genealogies of the Van Vliet family. The diary itself, written on two hundred and twenty pages and containing approximately forty-eight thousand words, is really in two parts. There is the diary proper covering in a very desultory manner the years from 1863 to 1888, and there are a number of recollections of life in Lacolle before 1840. These recollections are introduced, according to Traver's methodical custom, with the words: "The following are some of the facts and recollections in my own and family history written by myself and commenced on the eleventh day of December, 1861—Traver Van Vliet." The fifty-five pages which follow, together with fourteen at the end written in 1863, contain practically everything of historical importance in the diary. Four excerpts are given below. They deal respectively with early family

recollections, travelling conditions between Lacolle and Montreal about 1813, the rebellion of 1837-1838, and a great wolf hunt which took place about 1820, and in which the neighbouring villages, American as well as Canadian, co-operated.

GEORGE V. V. NICHOLLS

I

It would be a Strange and perhaps an amusing Sight for the young people of the present day, could they have the privilege of being carried back to about the year 1800, and being permitted to enjoy a visit at my fathers house as it was at that time.

The family then consisted of eleven children Six boys and five girls.

They would See a whole family dressed in home made clothing, in winter they would See the boys with their grey coats and vests and checked blue and white flannel Shirts on week days, on Sunday or holy days perhaps a brown or Black coat made of the finest of the wool, and a white cotton Shirt. The girls in their blue or checked flannel gowns, or perhaps the Same Material in petty coat and Short gown and checked tow apron. They would find father and Mother busily engaged each in their separate department of labor and giving direction to the larger boys, and girls, that each might contribute their Share in the duties and labors connected with the farming and household affairs which were both agricultural & Mechanical in character. At that time wool was carded by hand in my fathers house as well as the Spinning and weaving. And the flax after being crackled and Swingled was hatched and the flax Spun from a distaff by a Small wheel and the tow carded and Spun by larger Spinning wheels (which was improved in later years by the patent head which gave the Spindle greater Speed). The dyeing was also mostly done at home at the time mentioned above though in later years the cloth after weaving was Sent to the clothiers to be dyed & dressed, as well as the wool for carding. The tailoring was mostly done by My Mother and Sisters. Some times a tailor was employed for a few days to cut and assist and direct in making coats and vests. The girls did their own dress making & Milinary work.

I often think when contrasting the present time with the time of my childhood and youth that in regard to matters and things of convenience and even of articles of necessity Such as farming utensils, tools & household furniture, that the present generation could illy Submit to the inconvenience and privations with which most and I may Say all had to do here Say 50 to 60 years ago. Very few were better off than my father

in the neighbourhood where he lived and yet I remember well when the first waggon was brought on the farm it was a double lumber waggon and it was also used for a pleasure and visiting carriage whenever one was required.

before the waggon was in use the whole crop of grain and hay had to be drawn on what was called a wood Sled. And it was wood only not an ounce of iron was used in its construction—even the Shoes were wood and pined on the runners with wood pins. (I have often helped to put on new Shoes on the old Sled). This Sled was used for both winter & Summer for home use. But Iron Shod Sleighs were used for winter journeys by those that were able to afford them. I think my father had one before my remembrance. Stoves were not in common use in those days—houses were warmed by chimnies or fireplaces built of Stone or bricks—and Sometimes of Sticks layed in clay.

It was commonly the practice for Summer Milling to Send boys on horseback; when I was young—I think I could not have been more than eight or nine years old before I was Sent to mill in that way. The horses would be got ready early in the morning Sometimes before daylight and we would be Sent off in haste for fear that too many Should get in before us, as each had their turn in getting grist ground. So that if we were late in getting to the mill there might be so many before us that we would be obliged to wait for Some hours and Sometime for a day or two and consequently would have to return home and go again for our grist when it would be ground.

II

When [1813] I went to live at Laprarie there were not roads as there are now. We had to go through Lacadia [Lacadie] or by way of St. Johns. I recollect that at that time I went on foot in company with my oldest brother as far as the Isle Aux Noix from that to St. Johns we went by boat and from St. Johns to Laprarie on foot.

At that time and for many years after all of the travel from Lacolle to Montreal was by Lacadia or St. Johns—and later by Sherrington [and] St. Philips to Laprarie. Montreal at that time was our only market. And as very little produce was taken to market except in winter, it would usually occupy three days to go and return.

Stages were then used for the public traveling both winter and summer. During the time that I lived at Laprarie there were no steamers used as ferry boats, nor even a horse boat, we had to cross both at Laprarie and Longuil [sic] in batteaus. From Laprarie to Montreal we could make but one trip per day. These boats had five men each four at the oars

and one at the helm the man who had the charge of the boat was stiled captain, and he generally acted as Steersman. On leaving Montreal the foot passengers were required to walk up to point St. Charles before embarking and if the wind was in the South they were again landed on Nuns Island and would again walk a mile or two to lighten the boat, while the men would work the boat up the Shore with poles keeping in Shallow water for that purpose. it would often take four or five hours in crossing from Montreal to Laprarie and in cold and Stormy weather it was very uncomfortable—the Batteaus being entirely open at top.

At the time mentioned above there was not only no boats either by horses or Steam to ferry across the St. Lawrence river, But there were no wharfing to land on at Montreal the Ships would be anchored as near Shore as they could be and they would lay timber from the deck of the Ship to the beach or Shore and load or unload by carrying up and down a Sort of bridge—made Something Similar to the Slide to a Saw mill where logs are drawn from the pond into the mill.

Montreal at that time was a very different looking place to what it now presents.

It had then very few cut Stone buildings its Markets were mere wooden Sheds, it had no canals or rail roads, no Steamers on its fine river, no gas to light its Streets by night, no water works to Supply its people with this most useful article, so necessary for health cleanliness and comfort and protection from fires, in fact everything in and about the city of Montreal have changed within the last fifty years both in appearance and importance. Among its many improvements the tubular Bridge is the greatest achievement of art and one of great importance—Stretching its vast proportions from Shore to Shore affording a Safe and quick passage to and from Montreal at all Seasons of the year.

III

The rebellion of 1837-38 was also the cause of considerable loss to us—not only by stoping our business but we were plundered by the rebels on the day and night previous to the battles fought on the 7th. and 9th. of November 1837 [a mistake for 1838], at Odelltown Chapel and at the line near Rouses Point. On the evening of the Sixth of November we were informed that the rebels were preparing to attack Lacolle. Several loyal companies had been armed by the government.

One company of volunteers under Captain March—and several companies of the militia under Captains, Weldon, George Hay, and others. I held the commission of Ensign in Captain Hays company.

At this time Weldon and Hayeses companies were guarding Lacolle. I had sent my family across the line to Champlain for safety—and remained at Lacolle Myself to assist in keeping the guard.

On the eving of the Sixth we received orders from Leiut. Col. Taylor (who was in command of our district) to retreat towards Odelltown where Captain Marches Company was Stationed. Several other Companies had been called upon to assist. Among them were Captains Straker from Roxham & McAlister from Hemingford under Leiut. Col. Scriver.

Early in the morning of the 7th. we were ordered to attack the rebels who had taken up a position near the line on the road leading to Rouses Point to the number of Some four hundred. This rebel force was mostly composed of french canadians but there were some of their Sympathisers from the States with them.

They had obtained arms and ammunition from the States and they had one Small cannon.

Our manner of attack was as follows. Captain marches company and the Hemingford Militia under Leut. Col. Scriver, marched down upon them in front. Captains Weldons & Hays companies under Leiut. Col. Odell were ordered to flank them to the left to cut off their retreat on what was called the Schutt road. I was in the party ordered to the left. The battle commenced by the rebels firing the cannon upon Marches and Scrivers party as they Marched down upon them in line of battle.

The attacking party did not halt but as soon as they came near enough they commenced firing upon the rebels, who stood their ground resolutely until our force came within one acre of them and and [*sic*] Some did not retreat at all, but were taken prisoners. Most of them however retreated towards Rouses Point as our men advanced. We took Several prisoners—among them was one Benjamin Mott from Alsburgh [*sic*] who was with several others sent into exile to Vandiemans Land. We took thir Cannon and all their amunition and some Small arms. There were eight of the rebels left dead on the field—we had two killed and two or three wounded.

After the battle was over we returned to Odelltown for the night and those of us who had our families across the line went that eving to See them. And as they were only about two miles from the battle field and could hear all the guns and See the Smoke of the battle, Their anxieties for our Safety was very great, as they supposed that many of us must be killed.

I shall never forget the scene of our Meeting; Wives and Children embraced their husbands and fathers as if they had Snatched them from

the grave. During the night after the battle we remained in force in Odelltown, expecting that the rebels would be down upon us from Lacolle where they had gathered after our retreating from there or rather had evacuated that place as I mentioned above on the night of the Sixth. They, the rebels, did not however attack us until the ninth. They had taken possession of our houses in Lacolle village after we left, where they remained until morning of the ninth two days after the battle above mentioned—when they commenced their march to attack us at Odelltown. We took up our position at Odelltown, in and about the Methodist Church—which position we held in Spite of their efforts to drive us away or surround and take us prisoners. Here the battle was pretty severe for near an hour—the rebels advanced to the buildings of Isaac Smith which were near the church; behind these buildings they could Shelter themselves from our fire but we kept watch for them and fired upon any that Showed themselves—as some of our men remained in the church for that purpose—and fired from the windows and doors. At the commencement of the battle we had planted the cannon (we had taken from the rebels too days before in the first fight) in front of the church and used it against our enemies. But their fire was so sharp upon our little party who had charge of the cannon and the enemy seemed determined to drive them from it and therefore they were likely to be all killed. So our brave fellows drew it nearer and nearer the church door but were finally compelled to leave the cannon for a time and enter the church for Safety.

As the rebels approached the church in the commencement of the battle, a part of them kept the road and a party took to the fields to the right and left with the view to surround us. The party that took to our left, crossed over to the road west of the church and spread themselves along the road and fields quite down to W. W. Fishers place. There our men (who occupied the road from the church to Fishers place) kept them back although they made several attempts to force our men from the road. The party of the rebels who endeavoured to flank us to our right were held in check at the road leading from the church to the lake shore east. In these several positions they kept themselves hid behind buildings Stone walls etc.—until near Sunset firing upon any of our men that they might See. But as the evening approached they began to draw off, Some in one direction and Some in another. Many favored by the darkness of the evening succeeded in getting across the line into the States. Some returned to their homes and Some we took prisoners. We had in this battle three killed and five wounded—the rebels left eight killed on the field—their wounded they carried away with them. The names of our killed were, Capt. McAlister, Martin Flowers 3 & Thomas

Durham, Wounded—Hiram Odell, Wm. Kidd, Wm. Durham, Lewis Bartelle & a man from Hemmingford whose name I do not recollect⁵. I myself very narrowly escaped being wounded. I was at the time about half way up a little mounty road leading from the old yellow house to the back road as it was usually called (Several of our men took their position here and here the most of our men received wounds— and here we had to contend with the boldest of the rebel forces) It was snowing very fast at the time, and the weather being mild and very little wind the Snow clung to whatever it fell upon, the trees in A. Canfields Orchard where I was standing were as white as if they were in full bloom—we could distinctly see the course of a ball as it passed through the orchard, Starting the Snow from the branches of the trees. The rebels at the time were mostly driven back as far as the buildings on the Wilsie farm—directly west of the church from which place they made a Stand—and fired upon our little band who occupied the road and Orchard before mentioned. The two contending parties would be about Six acres from each other. While thus engaged a ball Struck my cartridge box (which for convenience I had moved in front of my body) passing through it and both my over and under coat grazing my pantaloons, just at the hip, So that if it had been one forth of an inch nearer it would have cut my Skin. And an inch nearer would have made probably a cripple of me for life—and not unlikely caused my death.

On the morning of the tenth of November the day after the battle at the church we returned to our homes at Lacolle—we found them in Sad State. Every room in my house had been ocupied by the rebels during their Stay at Lacolle. The house was littered with Straw and dirt from one end to the other. Pieces of bread, meat and half cooked potatoes were Strewed about the floors of every room—in Some we required a Shovel to clear them. There must have been a great number at my house. I had at the time Seven tables in the house and they Seemed to have been insufficient to accomodate them all, as doors had been taken off their hinges and placed on barrels to serve as tables. Every article of provision that we had prepared for winter such as flour, pork, beef, butter, apples, preserves, etc. were eaten or destroyed—we estimated our loss at two hundred dollars. I also lost by having My barns burned to the amount of Some fifteen hundred dollars, in these barns, horses, cattle, sheep, carriages, harness, and many farming utensils were also burned, together with hay and other forage. These burnings and many others lost by my neighbours were done by some of the rebels who had fled across the line, from whence they came and burned our barns etc. during the night. These depredations were committed during the three years after the rebellion (1839 to 1841) The object was Suposed

to be retaliation and revenge and also to endeavor to keep up the excitement.

At the battle of Odelltown church there were eight of the rebels left dead on the field. Their wounded were carried off by their friends. For a few days after the battle of the 9th. of November the loyalists pursued the rebels and took many prisoners who were lodged in jail. Six of the most guilty were hanged at Montreal. Some thirty or more were exiled to Australia, the others were Set at liberty.

The rebellion was successfully put down in the year 1838 but the government kept up a Small force in different parts of the province for ten¹ years after to prevent further rising. The Company that I belonged to remained under arms only during the winter of 1839. A company of Cavalry under Captain Jones and a company of foot under Major March were kept as a guard at Lacolle near Odelltown church and other companies in different parts of the province until near 1850—about which time all were discharged.²

IV

Some of my recollections of wild animals that were Still remaining in the neighbourhood when I was a youth; when my father first moved to Lacolle, Bears and wolves were quite often Seen and were frequently very troublesome. Sheep were in great danger of being killed and had to be carefully Secured near the houses—and even then they were not Safe, for Some had their Sheep killed by wolves in their barn and house yards. I can well remember seeing the torn carcasses of Sheep in my fathers fields; done by the wolves.

Often have I went out and listened to their howling—the noise of which could only be equaled by a company of Savages at a war dance. Sometimes it would Seem that there must be Scores of them, and that their object was to frighten the people to prevent them from coming out, So that they could commit their raids upon the Sheep yards without molestation,—their howlings were Seldom heard at night,—and as they were a cowardly animal they chose the darkest nights to do their dark deeds. It may Seem Strange yet it is true that about the year 1820 wolves were So troublesome that great efforts were made to destroy or banish them out of the place. The most effectual was the wolf hunt, that took place at that time.

¹The word is not clear in the manuscript.

²The company of cavalry referred to belonged to the regiment known as "The Queen's Light Cavalry." They were recalled to Montreal after the riots attending the passing of the Rebellion Losses Bill. Traver Van Vliet received about \$1,200 for his losses in the affair.

The inhabitants of Champlain, Chazy, Mooretown & Lacolle agreed to unite in a hunt and most of the men in these places old and young turned out.

All took guns that had them and those that had none took clubs pikes or Some other weapons and Sallied out to assist. The hunt was a well organized affair. Some of the leading men of each town met and appointed leaders of parties or companies who were called captains. A circle was to be formed by placing the men in a line So as to enclose the most of the towns mentioned, each captain was to be at his appointed place with his men at a given time when a Signal was to be passed around the line to ascertain when the circle was completed. As Soon as the line or circle was ascertained to be filled the word *forward* was passed a round from a certain place previously agreed upon. This word was passed each way, to the right and left of the man who was appointed to Start the Signal.

When this Signal had passed around the circle every man was Supposed to be moving towards the centre of the ring—as each man on passing the word to his neighbour moved forward.

As Soon as the whole company was in motion each man was to cry *alls well*, frequently, this was to serve to keep the line correct. As each man on hearing the cry from his right or left hand man would ascertain whether he was moving too fast or too Slow or whether he was inclining to the right or left. When the line or circle was first formed the men would be a considerable distance apart. (Say from one to two acres) but as they drew in towards the centre they came closer and closer together. At the time of the hunt a large proportion of the ground enclosed was covered with wood and a great Share of that was what was called Swamp, many places of which was So thickly filled with under brush that a person might hide within a few feet from another and often for a mile in length you could not See an animal an acre from you. It was in these Swamps that the wolves would lay concealed during the day and at night they would visit the open fields Seeking their prey.

Our centre, or the place appointed where the whole hunting party was to meet was about a mile above the village of Champlain on the river. A place was chosen where the banks were high on each Side of the river So that when the people approached the centre from opposite directions the firing would be from the hill into the hollow from all directions in case any animals Should be enclosed—by this arrangement there was little danger of any person being hurt by the firing. All the party being Set in motion by the word *forward*, we Soon heard the next password—*All's well* upon the right and left, upon the high and low key of the different voices of old and young. We had not been long in

motion before the cry was heard, *wolves in the ring*—wolves in the ring—this cry filled every one with a desire to See if possible the wolf—before we had got half way to the centre we found for a certainty that there were wolves in the ring, and that they were running from one Side to another Seeking an opening to make their escape—guns were fired first on one Side and then on the other. It was about at this Stage that I heard the cry upon my right *look out a wolf*. Soon a large male wolf came dashing towards the ring directly before me. he came within about an acre of me when he turned to retreat, as he turned I fired at him, and he dropped on his Side—and immediately turned his head to his hind parts and licked them for a few moments but he Soon got up and hobbled off, before I had time to Load my piece again he was out of range. It was evident however that I had given him a serious wound for as he ran from me he came to an old log not more than two feet high he made several attempts to pass over it and could not—and finally passed round it—he however did not run far before he crawled into the top of a fallen tree where he was Shot by another person. It proved that my ball had passed through his thighs which rendered his hind legs nearly useless. As we came nearer the centre the excitement increased—wolves, deer, Foxes & rabbits were Seen and firing was more frequent. But the winding up is difficult to describe. To See the affrighted animals running too & Fro to hear the firing and Shouting of the people. Many of whom became too much excited to use Sufficiently caution, ran far within the ring and fired carelessly, thus endangering thir own and other lives. It however ended without any one geting Seriously injured—and in the captivation of three wolves and Several deer and some foxes & rabbits.

Since that time wolves have not been troublesome in our neighbourhood.¹

¹This section of Van Vliet's recollections is brought to a close with a description of the harm done to the crops by bears, raccoons, and squirrels, and of the presence about Lacolle of moose, panther, catamount, lynx, otter, beaver, martin, mink, and muskrat.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Lord Durham: A Biography of John George Lambton, First Earl of Durham. By CHESTER W. NEW. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1929. Pp. xiv, 612; frontispiece.

THIS volume bears all the marks which distinguish a good book. The writer has made himself master of all the material that is likely ever to be available for a study of his subject, and he has submitted it to prolonged gestation, so that he had the picture of the man and his spacious setting at his pen's end. So prepared, his gift of narrative enables him to provide a full-length portrait of one of the great men of the first half of the nineteenth century, a man, too, of whom Canadians and all Britishers overseas cannot know too much.

Lord Durham's chief services were in connection with the great Reform bill; the establishment of the Belgian monarchy; the improvement of Anglo-Russian relations; and the settlement of the Canadian question after the uprisings of 1837. For the understanding of these events, we are provided with satisfactory political *cartes des pays*, which are important contributions to the history of each. If, at times, we become conscious of an over-anxiety on the part of the author, lest, through momentary inattention, we should miss a gleam of the glory properly belonging to his hero, we can smile and pass on.

Those whose acquaintance with Lord Durham has been limited to his appearances in the memoirs of his time, will learn that there were occasions—even prolonged occasions—when he could maintain consistently the behaviour of a gentleman. His transactions in connection with Leopold and the throne of Belgium, and as ambassador to Russia mark him out as a distinguished diplomat. There is no trace in his management of the delicate negotiations necessary for the success of his missions, of those violent outbursts of temper which were habitual in his relations with his intimates and particularly with those who loved him best. The bodily ailments from which he suffered throughout his life did not spare him during his sojourns on the continent, but he managed to keep a curb on his nervous reactions in all his dealings with a king and an emperor.

Our author's wide reading and long reflection led him to a certain conclusion. When Durham married Lady Louisa, daughter of the second Earl Grey, she became, in the author's words, "the living link between the leadership of the Whig party and its restless left wing," and

without that link there would have been no Reform bill in 1832, and no responsible government overseas in the "forties." The relation of Grey and his family with responsible government in the colonies is not elucidated and remains obscure, notwithstanding the fact that Colonel Charles Grey accompanied Durham to Canada. The consequences of the Grey-Durham or Durham-Grey combination occupy an important and highly interesting section of the volume.

The drama which had its conclusion in the signing of the Reform Act of 1832 is displayed with all the well-known characters in action, who have fascinated every reader of English history—the Duke of Wellington, Earl Grey, Lord Durham, Peel, Brougham, Russell, Althorp, and the minor personages. But there is an important change in the chief rôle. The place which tradition and scholarship have hitherto assigned to Earl Grey, is here given to Lord Durham. It requires uncommon courage to turn aside from so well-supported a tradition. We wonder how far the courage has been justified. Surely the statement is too strong that, without the alliance of Durham with Grey, there would have been no Reform bill. Professor New himself makes it plain that, after 1830, the public demand for an extensive reform in the franchise had reached such a point of insistence that the only alternative was a revolution with the nation in arms. Unless we must conclude that the English people had temporarily lost the capacity for dealing with crises, which had secured peaceful development with but one break in many centuries, we must believe that, without Durham and even without Grey, means would have been found to appease the public demand.

The principle and scope of the bill, the author insists on deriving from Durham's bill of 1821. Its introduction into parliament at so early a date undoubtedly proves great constancy to the cause of reform, but does it of necessity prove more? The two principal items of the bill of 1831 were the disfranchisement of the rotten boroughs, and the fixing of the £10 qualification for electors. The former, which created the greatest sensation when announced in the house by Lord John Russell, was regarded as essential by Earl Grey as early as December, 1820, when, in a letter to Lord Holland, he expressed the conviction that one hundred of such boroughs should be disfranchised. But Grey realized that in the battle against entrenched privilege, reformers would require every ounce of strength that the middle class could furnish, and that, until they had been awakened and educated to the point when they would make a unanimous and resolute demand, it would be useless to approach parliament on the subject. Durham reluctantly acquiesced in the reasonableness of this view and waited. There is no record of any educative work done by him. This was done effectively by the professed radicals,

chief of whom were Place, Hunt, and Cobbett. They had so far energized public opinion in the desired direction that the example of the revolution in France, coupled with the pronouncement of the Duke of Wellington that no reform would be conceded by his government, converted that opinion into an overwhelming force resolute to have a large measure of reform, whatever it might cost. In the long and severe struggle which Lord Grey waged with political foes and lukewarm friends, he had the steady support of Durham, though there were occasions when the infirmities of temper of the latter rendered his support of doubtful value.

The draft of the bill as submitted to the Cabinet, Mr. New regards as, indisputably, Durham's work. It may be so. We know that the committee of four who were entrusted with this duty had before them an outline bill prepared by Lord John Russell; also that this outline underwent important changes in the direction of Durham's ideas. But those who have had experience on committees know how difficult it is to distribute fairly to each member the credit due to him for the final result.

When all is said, however, Mr. New has rendered a notable service in establishing securely for Lord Durham an honourable place in the small group who prepared and carried to enactment one of the most important, epoch-marking measures in the history of the English people. Whether he has, or has not, fixed the statesman's place as *primus inter pares* is a matter that can be determined by every reader, on the evidence furnished by the author himself.

The attitude of criticism, which the reviewer found growing upon him in discussing Lord Durham's relation to the Reform bill, almost entirely disappeared as he perused the section dealing with Canadian affairs. It would be difficult to improve the preliminary chapter on the Canadian situation. The position of affairs during that critical period is set out with justice and fullness of knowledge. There are, naturally, minor points on which the students with equal opportunities differ from one another. For instance, the author says that Papineau "cannot in any reasonable sense of the term be considered the leader of the Lower Canada rebellion." This is a view which has some currency, but Mackenzie would not have subscribed to it in November, 1837, when he and Papineau were arranging, through Jesse Lloyd of Lloydtown, for simultaneous risings in the two provinces. Dr. Nelson might have agreed with the statement, but not in terms that would have flattered Papineau's self-esteem.

The author clearly brings out the vagueness of the ideas connoted by the frequently used phrase "responsible government", until it was given precision by Robert Baldwin in his famous letter of July 13, 1836,

to Lord Glenelg. The probable influence of this letter is also noted, in at least giving confidence to the liberal views that always lurked in the recesses of Durham's mind.

The account of Durham's five months' sojourn in Canada, with the successes and failures of his administration, is related with, on the whole, admirable fairness considering the warmth of the author's feelings for his subject. Nothing is ignored: not the imprudence of Durham's several appointments; nor his neglect of the whole body of French Canadians; nor the insolence of his retorts to the deserved rebukes of his official superiors; nor his extraordinary proclamation announcing his resignation, in which he condemned his masters, the ministry who appointed him, and notified the refugees and exiles that they were free to return to the country. Hardest test of all for an ardent pro-Durhamite, the author has given an acceptable statement of the difficulties into which Lord Melbourne and his government were driven by Durham's extra-legal acts and his neglect to explain them, when the ministry was compelled to meet the attacks of Lord Brougham and his associates. Mr. New might not be inclined to admit it, but his treatment of this part of Durham's career is an elaboration of Lord Melbourne's remark that Durham was constantly doing the right thing in the wrong way. In one of his despatches, he describes his position as that of a despot. If this statement had been absolutely true; if he had needed to pay no attention to the law or to parliament, and could have carried through his measures unhampered by any superior authority, his administration would have been an almost unmixed blessing to the country. The only blot would have been his disregard, which grew ostentatious, of the wishes and feelings of the French Canadians.

The *Report*, which is the subject of a judicious chapter, may be divided into three parts: the first dealing with the history and the social conditions of the provinces; the second, an analysis and exposure of the defects of the institutions, political and other; the third, Durham's recommendations. The first part is tinged with the characteristics ascribed by Mr. Henry Ford to all history, that is to say, it is not altogether trustworthy; the second is excellent; and the third conveyed a message of salvation to the nation.

In treating of responsible government, the author justly observes that the term meant something different in 1839 from what it does to-day, not only in Canada but in Great Britain as well. That was due mainly to the fact that time and circumstance had not then stripped the king of all his power towards his ministers. But the author might have gone further, and said that Durham's recommendation did not mean to Lord John Russell or to Lord Sydenham what it was found to mean by speedy

development in practice. To them the recommendation implied no change in the position of the governor. He was still to be the real ruler. There was only to be added to his duties a new responsibility—to see that his executive officers held the confidence of the assembly. A vote of want of confidence in the ministry or in a single minister did not necessarily call for the removal of the ministers. The governor had to satisfy himself that the vote was the expression of a permanent desire that the minister, or ministers, should be got rid of, and not merely an expression of dissatisfaction with some action or measure of ministers.

Further action was to lie within the discretion of the governor. It is customary to say that Lord Sydenham, the first governor under the new system, was his own prime minister. There was no place for a prime minister under the arrangement first sanctioned. The executive was to consist of a governor independent of local political affiliations and an executive council which should enjoy the confidence of the people. The system was unworkable, as that adroit politician, Sydenham, discovered before the end of a single session.

The volume finishes with an imposing array of evidence tending to show that Durham, and not one or more of his subordinate collaborators, was the author of the *Report*. As a piece of industrious scholarship, incidentally valuable for the material in the evidence, the essay is interesting, but, in the reviewer's opinion, unimportant. He is a firm believer that the *Report* is Durham's own work, but if it were otherwise, if it were shown that every line of the *Report* were written by Buller, Wakefield, or Adam Thom, it would be a rash man who would assert, at this late day, that Durham's share was confined to a passive acquiescence signified by his signature. Finally, it would be difficult to persuade the reviewer that the real author, if it were other than Durham, could remain so self-effacing as not to give at least a hint of his relation with so celebrated a piece of work.

WILLIAM SMITH

Écrits spirituels et historiques. By MARIE DE L'INCARNATION, Ursuline de Tours: Fondatrice des Ursulines de la Nouvelle France. (Publiés par Dom Claude Martin de la Congrégation de Saint-Maur, réédités par Dom Albert Jamet de la Congrégation de France avec des annotations critiques, des pièces documentaires et une biographie nouvelle.) Paris: Desclée-De Brouwer & Cie.; Québec: L'Action Sociale. Tome premier, 1929; tome deuxième, 1930. Pp. 424, 512.

THESE are the first two of six volumes which will contain the complete surviving works of Mère Marie de l'Incarnation. The first two volumes contain her religious writings, three volumes will be required for her

letters, and a final volume will contain a manual of religious education. The undertaking thus begun by Dom Jamet is a considerable one and owes its inception to the fact that whereas interest in Marie de l'Incarnation as a religious and historical figure is steadily increasing, both in France and Canada, her writings are still largely inaccessible. Dom Claude Martin, worthy son of so pious a mother, "venerable and learned" in Bossuet's phrase, published between 1677 and 1684 four volumes of the writings of his mother, chief of them the *Vie*, an amalgam of autobiography and letters, and the *Lettres*, which he divided arbitrarily into religious and historical. Not unnaturally Dom Martin published these writings rather for edification than as a scientific biographer or historian, and he allowed himself to modify the language used by his mother where in his opinion it was advisable the more properly "to express her thoughts." To-day not merely are the volumes of Dom Martin rare, but many of the originals he used have been dissipated and lost. A few additional letters have been found and some new manuscripts traced; but, for most of the writings of Marie de l'Incarnation, the edition of Dom Martin represents all that remains. On them necessarily were largely based the early life of Charlevoix (1724), the lives of Casgrain (1865) and Richaudeau (1873), and the composite work of Chapot (1892). A selection from the *Lettres* was re-published a few years ago (1927). Exactly how much new material is to be expected in the later volumes of this new edition is not clear. Its main justification will lie in its re-publishing and re-editing of the work of Dom Martin.

The present volumes indicate that the task will be fulfilled in a manner worthy of the best traditions of Catholic scholarship in France. Volume I contains a general introduction to the works, with a preliminary sketch of Marie de l'Incarnation, an account of her writings and of the scope and plan of the present edition, and a biographical account of her son and first editor, Dom Martin. This is followed by the first part of *Les écrits spirituels*—those belonging to the life of Mère Marie at Tours, where she was born, early married and widowed, and remained after her entry into the Ursuline order until her departure for New France in 1639. These writings consist primarily of the *Relations* of 1633, a spiritual autobiography, with some brief fragments in addition. The task of re-constituting the eighty-six scattered fragments of the *Relation* from the seven hundred pages of Dom Martin in which it is contained, the original manuscript being lost, presented great difficulties; all that could be hoped for was a "rational" reconstitution, and this has been most elaborately and carefully performed.

Volume II completes the religious writings of Tours, and includes the *Relation* of 1654 made at the request of her son. Here the printed (and

emended) text of Dom Martin has been superseded by one taken from a MS. copy (not the original) of contemporary date, recently brought to light in the Ursuline convent of Three Rivers, and now printed for the first time. Whilst the differences between the two versions are textual, it is satisfactory to have the unamended copy of a notable religious autobiography in what will undoubtedly be the definitive edition of the writings of the great Ursuline mother. Although this *Relation* is primarily a spiritual autobiography, it nevertheless contains in addition to its biographical material, in itself of much interest, material concerning the coming of Marie de l'Incarnation to New France and the early life of Quebec, which gives it value for Canadian history. The volumes are admirably printed and produced, with some excellent illustrations. A bibliographical notice might well have been prefixed to the first volume.

R. FLENLEY

Père Marquette: Priest, Pioneer and Adventurer. By AGNES REPPLIER. Decorations by H. CIMINO. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran Company. 1929. Pp. 298.

MISS REPPLIER'S biography of Father Marquette adds little to our knowledge of the life and work of that gallant priest. She appears to have made use of nothing more than those documents which have been long in print, and secondary materials that are easily accessible. Her attitude towards her subject is rather that of the essayist than of the historian. But one could wish that more historians wrote with her charm of style, her whimsical sense of humour, her sound common sense. The chapter, for instance, in which she dismisses the Rev. Father Steck's hypothesis that Marquette's journal was written, not by Marquette, but by Joliet, is a masterpiece of lay criticism. But in general, Miss Repplier is not interested in matters of historical criticism. Her aim has been to write a life of Marquette for the general reader, without any of the *apparatus criticus* of professional scholarship, and in this aim she has admirably succeeded.

W. S. WALLACE

A Guide to the Principal Sources for Early American History (1600-1800) in the City of New York. By EVARTS B. GREENE and RICHARD B. MORRIS. New York: Columbia University Press. 1929. Pp. xxv, 357.

THE usefulness of this admirably conceived and well executed *Guide* will not be confined to scholars working in greater New York. Its organization, and the comprehensiveness of the collections with which it deals, make it not only a guide to original materials in that city but a

very useful bibliography to students everywhere, especially by virtue of its lists of series of printed sources, which for some types of material are selective, and for some fairly exhaustive. Of printed public records the chief relevant British series are noted as well as the American. Besides miscellaneous series of documents there are listed the publications of general, regional, and religious historical societies, as well as general collections of colonial charters, statutes, and treaties, while much printed documentary material is grouped by colonies, states, and territories. The section on newspapers, classified geographically, is very extensive, and it is supplemented by lists of other American periodicals and of notable British periodicals of the eighteenth century. Comparable in importance is the section dealing with the collected works of early American statesmen.

Even the three-fourths of the book that deals with manuscript collections will frequently reward consultation by one far from New York, for, besides enumerating original manuscript sources in depositories there, the compilers have included mention of transcripts of materials available elsewhere and they have been careful to give full information concerning calendars and other printed guides.

The necessity of setting strict limits to their undertaking if it was to be accomplished within a reasonable time led the compilers to confine the volume to "Early American history" and to exclude "the period of discovery to the close of the sixteenth century," also, "except incidentally, those portions of North America which in 1800 still lay without the limits of the United States." But, although no attempt is made to cover Canadian history as such, the student of this subject will find the *Guide* decidedly useful. It will direct him to some sources concerned primarily with Canada, and to extensive and exceedingly important materials, printed as well as in manuscript, relating to those phases of North American affairs in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that are hardly less significant for the history of Canada than for that of the region which, almost at the end of the period dealt with, ceased to be a part of the British Empire and became the United States.

REGINALD G. TROTTER

The Dixon-Meares Controversy: Containing "Remarks on the Voyages of John Meares", by George Dixon, "An Answer to Mr. George Dixon", by John Meares, and "Further Remarks on the Voyages of John Meares", by George Dixon. Edited by F. W. HOWAY. (The Canadian Historical Series.) Toronto: The Ryerson Press; Montreal: Louis Carrier and Co. 1929. Pp. xvi, 156.

THIS volume inaugurates the Canadian Historical Studies issued jointly

by the Ryerson Press and Louis Carrier and Company, under the general editorship of Dr. Lorne Pierce. This new series aims at the publication of "original documents, not easily accessible and authoritative studies of outstanding importance by scholars of recognized ability." The foreword by the general editor tells us that "no sectional interest will be served, but rather the interests of Canadian history as a whole, east and west, and from the earliest times to the present." It is fitting that the first volume should be edited by Judge F. W. Howay, the well-known authority on the history of British Columbia.

The three pamphlets here re-published bring to light a long-forgotten dispute between two traders in sea-otter skins, Captain George Dixon of the *Queen Charlotte*, and that charming but equally mendacious navigator, John Meares. Long out of print, these pamphlets are among the rarest of Americana touching the history of the North West, and their re-publication is a boon to historical scholars. Dixon and Meares quarrelled in 1787 when Portlock and Dixon met Meares at Prince William's Sound on the Alaskan coast, where Meares had spent a terrible winter on board the *Nootka*. At that time, Meares was "trading without a license in the monopoly territory of the South Sea Company." Portlock and Dixon had a license from the Company and resented Meares's presence as an "interloper." They required from Meares a bond that he would at once sail for China without further trading. At the same time, Portlock furnished Meares with much needed supplies. In his *Voyages*, published in 1790, Meares set forth his version of the affair and lost no opportunity of belittling Portlock and Dixon, especially the latter.

Meares, in the meantime, had attained a brief international fame on account of Martinez's seizure of his ships at Nootka in 1789. His *Memorial* presented to the house of commons on May 13, 1790, was for a time accepted at its face value. But Meares was an incorrigible distorter of facts. In his introduction to the *Dixon-Meares controversy*, Judge Howay carefully weighs the evidence against Meares and finds him entirely lacking in veracity. Dixon, on the other hand, was a truthful man who bore a fine reputation as a navigator.

Angered by references in Meares's *Voyages*, Dixon wrote his first pamphlet attacking Meares. He refuted many of Meares's statements and ridiculed the amount of damages claimed by Meares from the Spaniards, showing that the wily captain was claiming \$100 apiece for 5,000 sea-otters which he would have taken if his ships had not been seized at Nootka. He also poked fun at Meares's chart, part of which he likened to the "mould of a good old housewife's butter pat." In addition, Dixon scouted Meares's statements regarding the existence of a north west passage.

Meares replied in his *Answer to Mr. George Dixon*, a piece of special pleading which upheld the price asked for the hypothetical sea-otter skins, defended his views regarding the north west passage, and quoted alleged statements of Captain Duncan of the *Princess Royal* with reference to Dixon's niggardliness. Dixon returned to the attack in his *Further Remarks*. In it he played his trump card, a letter from Captain Duncan clearing him of Meares's charges and commenting most unfavourably on Meares's character and veracity. Meares did not attempt to reply.

The controversy sheds light on the early days of the maritime fur trade. Meares was an important figure on the north west coast and his *Voyages* were widely read and are still to be found in libraries. Dixon has shown in his pamphlets that Meares was not only untruthful, but also that he was unable to tell a consistent story. The three pamphlets are, therefore, a necessary commentary on the *Voyages*.

Judge Howay's volume is well printed on good paper and is remarkably free from errors. In the third pamphlet the archaic long "s's" are used. Possibly they might have been made uniform throughout the three pamphlets or else omitted entirely. The careful introduction and notes set forth the circumstances of the quarrel and provide information regarding the movements of the fur traders. The frontispiece and seven maps are taken from contemporary sources, and there is an adequate index.

WALTER N. SAGE

Ethan Allen. By JOHN PELL. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1929. Pp. xii, 331.

WITH the publication of this biography, the stalwart figure of Ethan Allen, domineering, courageous, and enterprising, emerges in stronger relief. Born in Connecticut of restless pioneer stock, he migrated, as a young man, to the New Hampshire Grants, which were then the scene of a spirited controversy over land titles between the adherents of New Hampshire and New York. The New Hampshire settlers were in danger of being dispossessed by their more affluent New York rivals, and they gladly accepted Ethan Allen's leadership in repelling the intruding "Yorkers" by mob violence. Upon this disorderly basis the state of Vermont was later erected.

To Canadian readers, the most interesting part of Allen's career is, doubtless, his participation in the negotiations in which General Haldimand, under orders from Germain, sought to detach the republic of Vermont from its association with the rebelling American colonies. Although these parleys are not considered in any great detail, the author

is clearly of the opinion that, from 1782 to the end of the war, Ethan Allen did his best to render Vermont a British province. Here Mr. Pell is on solid ground and in conformity with the latest scholarship. Unlike J. B. Wilbur in his *Ira Allen* (see CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, IX, 351-2) where a plethora of documents—not always reproduced with fidelity nor interpreted with judgment—leaves the reader in some doubt as to where the Allens finally stood in these negotiations, Mr. Pell, in his findings, is candid and convincing.

With the intricate separatist movement in Vermont, the author deals only incidentally, and there he is obviously less at home. The old exaggeration that negotiation kept ten thousand British troops from invading Vermont is perpetuated. After the Burgoyne *débâcle* the number of British troops available for invasion was never so large. The homely quotations are well chosen. The maps and illustrations are good, although it should be stated that the bust of Allen by Perkins is idealistic. The relegation of references to an appendix, entitled, "Chronology and notes", leaves something to be desired, especially as some of the notes through disarrangement do not agree exactly with the pagination of the volume itself. But these defects are minor. The biography is well done and it presents a faithful portrait of this picturesque leader of the Green Mountain Boys.

CLARENCE W. RIFE

Seventeenth Report of the Department of Public Records and Archives of Ontario, 1928. By ALEXANDER FRASER. Toronto: The King's Printer. 1929. Pp. 242.

THIS volume, according to its table of contents, is concerned with "grants of crown lands in Upper Canada, 1787-1791." The title is doubly misleading—the years dealt with antedate the creation of a separate province of Upper Canada, and "Upper Canada" describes only a part of the land claims that are recorded in the volume, for there are many in lower Quebec. The records are minutes of the Quebec council and of a sub-committee which was first appointed by Dorchester on February 17, 1787, to report upon urgent applications for lands by Loyalists. The work of this committee was later extended to include applications from discharged soldiers and from other prospective settlers. Towards the end of 1788, four local land boards were created in the districts lying west of the Ottawa River. These dealt directly with most grants, referring only the large, or doubtful, ones to the land committee of the council. For the first two years, therefore, the minutes of the committee contain many records of individual applications, which are a valuable source of information about the names and locations of early

settlers. For the last two years the minutes contain relatively few individual cases, but they record many interesting decisions about the manner of granting lands and about the economic and political issues that were involved. The minutes have been transcribed from the originals in Land books A and B of the council office at Quebec. There are three valuable appendices containing lists of the members of the council and of the local land boards, and the dates of the council's meetings. The volume is without notes, but it is well indexed. Several maps of the early surveys are referred to in the text, and it is a matter of regret that no general sketch of the settlements was reproduced.

Many interesting matters are touched upon: an early French settlement at Toronto, led by Rocheblave, from the Illinois district, who wished to monopolize the portage route from Toronto to Lake Simcoe; a petition from the North West Company for a nine-mile strip of land on which to open a road from Lake Superior to Long lake; and the origin of the distinctive letters U.E.L., to be borne by the descendants of Loyalists. The work of the surveyor-general's department, which fell under the supervision of the land committee, is described, and many interesting early maps are listed on page 131. It is, on the whole, a volume that provides much more of general interest than is apparent upon a casual inspection.

M. G. JACKSON

William Kirby: The Portrait of a Tory Loyalist. By LORNE PIERCE. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1929. Pp. xiv, 477.

THE Malahide papers of James Boswell and Dr. Leslie Hotson's discovery of the true manner of Christopher Marlow's death have both been done into print, and now, out of the third great literary find of these recent years, comes *William Kirby: The portrait of a Tory Loyalist*. An old Niagara attic, five years ago, disgorged bushels of letters from princes, nobles, imperial statesmen, and men of letters at home and abroad; papers, documents, and boxes of diaries, inviting the very use that has now been made of them. As a result, the future will probably know Kirby much better than did his own generation. We can tell, in a given year, on what date he decided to cut off his whiskers and let his furnace go out; that he walked, largely self-taught and with more or less security and ease, in six languages and yet stumbled over the spelling of "onions" and "variety"; that he rose from the station of a journeyman tanner to be an aristocrat to the finger tips. Tory, Loyalist, patriot, churchman—that was Kirby. No other currents influenced his life or ran through his pen. His fame as an author has rested on, and is secure in, *The golden*

dog, and readers may know now what sources he tapped in the twelve years of his labour, and who provided the inspiration for his portraits. In the strictest sense he was not an historian, but he produced in the *Annals of Niagara*, despite the bias of a Loyalist view that was ever constant, a work that has few, if any, equals among Canadian local histories. He wrote a great deal of verse which Dr. Pierce does not rate highly, and in that he is endorsed by the evasions of both Tennyson and Goldwin Smith. Dr. Pierce, in introducing each epoch in Kirby's life, paints in the political and social background with admirable skill, and his closing chapter, in which he weighs the man, is a sympathetic and penetrating appraisal. There is an excellent bibliography.

LOUIS BLAKE DUFF

Jesse Ketchum and his Times; Being a Chronicle of the Social Life and Public Affairs of the Province of Upper Canada during the First Half Century. By E. J. HATHAWAY. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. [1929.] Pp. 359; illustrations.

Jesse Ketchum, who always prided himself upon his British birth—for, though he was born in Connecticut it was in 1782, before King George had acknowledged the independence of his American colonies—came to muddy little York in 1799, penniless but undaunted. The story, here well and interestingly told, of his early struggles for education and financial independence is a lesson in courage, determination, and thrift, with some parallels, but no superiors, in Canada. As he advanced in wealth, he advanced in benefactions to churches, schools, and charities, in which regard he is *in perpetua memoria* in Toronto as well as in Buffalo. He was, in every point of view, a model citizen. While an ardent reformer, active within as without the legislature, a close friend and trusted colleague of William Lyon Mackenzie, he deprecated the extreme measure of rebellion and declined to take part in it. After nearly half a century of active and useful life in Toronto, in 1845 he removed to Buffalo, where he exhibited the same qualities of patriotism and benevolence until his death in 1867.

Perhaps the most interesting part of this book, which is full of interest from cover to cover, is the account of the struggle for responsible government, and the rebellion in 1837. There is recorded, *inter alia*, the very curious episode, almost ignored by Canadian historians, of the passage of a resolution in defence of the principle of self-government by a legislative body, whose members were almost wholly opposed to anything like responsible government, and who, a short time afterwards, made much capital of the disloyalty to the British crown of Joseph Hume in writing, and of Mackenzie in receiving, a letter deprecating the "baneful

domination of the Mother Country." When, in 1833, Lord Goderich instructed Sir John Colborne to secure legislation along lines differing from those approved by the majority in the house, a resolution was passed which, in effect, claimed for Upper Canada the position of a free, sovereign, independent province, and insisted that the ministers at Westminster had no right to give instructions to the lieutenant-governor "for his guidance with relation to the affairs of the province." Nothing more sweeping was ever uttered until the Imperial Conference of 1926.

The author does not aim at dignity of style: colloquialisms are frequent—"shot to pieces"; "up to"; "keep friendship in repair"; "the fat was in the fire"; "show who is boss"; "call it a day"; "gas attacks"; "bitter hot shot" (is this a Hibernicism or humour?); and the like, are not uncommon; while Dr. Strachan is "the doughty bishop" and Mackenzie's men are "ragged yeomen." The proof-reading is fair: we do, indeed, find "hazzard", "derilect", "Adel ", "Adel ", "gauge of battle", "of" instead of "with", etc., but these are, of course, mere oversights. The orthography is rather erratic: e.g., we find "armour" alongside of "favor" and "honor": and Caesar's "vidi" becomes "vivi", beside which "Attorney and Solicitor Generals" becomes almost pardonable. The terminology is sometimes slipshod: "the government by reason of its subservient majority refused to accept Mr. Ketchum's motion"; the legislative council became merely "a vehicle for baulking the wishes of the people"; "the new building of Upper Canada College . . . was a new note in the life of the city"; the legislative and executive councillors were "privileged bodies"; "legislation was evoked", etc. The grammar is not quite impeccable—a plural verb is found with a singular subject, and a singular verb with a double subject, while a double negative is not infrequent.

One can scarcely recommend the book as a model of literature; but its most serious defect is an inexcusable one: it has many mis-statements of fact, apparently due to neglect to examine the original authorities. (Sir) John Beverley Robinson did not donate the site of Osgoode Hall—he was paid £1,000 (\$4,000) for it; the Upper Canada constituencies had not the slightest resemblance to the "pocket boroughs" of England; Chief Justice William Dummer Powell, who sentenced Gourlay to banishment, was not "one of the government's henchmen"—he was at that time *persona non grata* with the government. He had had no part in passing the statute which made Gourlay liable to such a sentence; he disapproved of it, and he advised against it being put in operation against Gourlay; all that he did was to conduct the trial decorously and according to law, ending by pronouncing the only sentence permitted by

the existing law; the silly story told and re-told of an unfair trial, Gourlay's outburst of maniac laughter, etc., has not a vestige of foundation in fact. Nicholas Hagerman was not "a charter member of the Law Society of Upper Canada"—it had no "charter members"; 1806 was not in the eighteenth century; Simcoe did not fix upon Newark as the capital of Upper Canada as a consequence of his western trip, nor did he tender his resignation because of the non-concurrence of Lord Dorchester in his military schemes; he did not leave Upper Canada to become governor of San Domingo—it was when he returned from San Domingo in 1798 that he resigned the lieutenant-governorship of Upper Canada along with his San Domingo command; Joseph Willcocks was not "impeached" in 1806 or at any other time, and "impeachment" was not a weapon in the hands of the government for disciplining members of the legislative assembly; the real reason for Barnabas Bidwell leaving Massachusetts is not given—nor need it be; "the first bill ever introduced in the legislature for the purpose of extending to Methodist preachers the right of marrying" was not introduced in 1823. While Mr. Rogers was refused by a vote of eight to two, in 1799, the right to introduce a bill for that purpose, in 1802, such a bill was introduced and passed in the assembly, but received the "six months hoist" in the council; the subsequent history of this measure is well known. The author seems often to have taken tradition instead of contemporaneous documents as his basis of information.

It seems to me a great pity that a book as important and interesting as this is, should be found to be unreliable in matters of fact, such as have been mentioned. Nevertheless, blemished as it is in this way, it is a notable and valuable production, and no Canadian library should fail to have it on its shelf.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

Sir Daniel Wilson: A Memoir. By H. H. LANGTON. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1929. Pp. 250.

"SCOTSMEN more than others seem to cultivate versatility," says Mr. Langton, and Sir Daniel Wilson, president of the University of Toronto, had a full share of this quality of his countrymen. The variety of his interests astounds our sober age of specialists. While still a youth he was an authority on the antiquities of Edinburgh, and his beautiful drawings in his book on old Edinburgh preserve the memory of much that has since disappeared. The study of these antiquities led to archæology, and archæology to anthropology, all subjects on which he wrote. He went to London to study engraving and there, under the artist's direction, he made a beautiful engraving of Turner's "Regulus leaving Carthage"—

not one of his best pictures. At the same time, to earn his living, he wrote pot-boilers and, in the course of his long life, such literary work included biography, history, a tragedy, fairy-tales, fiction, and verse. When, in 1853, he was appointed to University College, Toronto, his title was "Professor of history and English literature." The word history was so vaguely defined that Dr. McCaul, head of the college, urged that it should mean ancient history. This happily was left, where it still is, in the hands of experts in the Greek and Latin classics, and Wilson's all-embracing title was to mean modern history which may indeed, as Freeman said, begin with "the call of Abraham." Even with so extensive a field, Wilson went beyond it, and his studies in ethnology led to his book *Prehistoric man*, a work of enduring value. The word "prehistoric", since found useful, is his creation. He first used it in 1851 in his book *The archæology and prehistoric annals of Scotland*. Versatility has its dangers. The jack-of-all-trades is apt to be master of none. What survives of Wilson's work is his art and his archæology. He had great skill with his hands, and his many water-colours show a delicacy of touch that gives them enduring value. He was ambidextrous and, by using both hands at the same time in drawing and sketching, worked with rapidity that astonished observers. Hundreds of his sketches survive. To bring them together in an exhibition would reveal to the present generation the excellence of his work. Mr. Langton has reproduced a few of them in the present volume. The accurate drawing and the skill in producing the effect of foliage are pleasing even with the colour absent.

Some of Wilson's personal reminiscences have interest. He speaks of "the vulgar prosaic features" of the great Turner, son of a barber, the "strange uncouth figure", and the sensual life. He guided Wilson in making the fine engraving which may be seen in the library of the University of Toronto. Wilson found him rude, irascible, but withal kindly. The vast number of his works that lay about neglected in his studio are now one of the chief treasures of the National Gallery. Wilson's prehistory led to correspondence with Gladstone, whose "geological ideas are amazingly crazy" (p. 200). He had talks with Tennyson whom he found full of interest about Canada and the French Canadians, but disturbed by Goldwin Smith's opinion that Canada would join the United States. To Tennyson, Goldwin Smith was "that nuisance"; and Dean Stanley, though proud that "I stood next below him in the class lists at Oxford", says "he was always a pessimist" (p. 217). Goldwin Smith himself shocked Wilson by denouncing Browning, whom to the present writer he once described as having "the mind of a stock broker." Wilson describes his friend, John Stuart Blackie, famous a generation ago, now

forgotten, as "quiet, lovable, eccentric" but "all top-sails and no ballast" (p. 199).

Wilson found Toronto in 1853 a city with striking buildings and shops, a population of about forty thousand, and many pleasant, hospitable people. He had at Toronto two old school-fellows in Edinburgh, the much-loved George Paxton Young, professor of philosophy, and the Liberal leader, George Brown, the founder of the *Globe* newspaper. While Brown is described by opponents as of a dour and intolerant type, to Wilson he seemed "generous and kindly; to his own home circle his presence has been a perpetual sunshine" (p. 195). Of others, Wilson's judgment was not so gentle. Though his temper, naturally irascible, was well under control, he was likely to regard opponents as villains. He lived in an era of controversy in university affairs. The mistaken effort of Pitt's policy, in the Act of 1791, to give Canada a state church that should control higher education had led to the founding of denominational colleges, bitterly resentful of the favours by the state to the Anglican King's College. After this tie with the church was broken by the creation, in 1849, of the secularised University of Toronto, the rival colleges claimed a share of the state endowment. For a variety of reasons, Wilson, and not his chief, Dr. McCaul, was protagonist in the fight against division of the endowment; he had much to do with the spending of a large part of it in building University College, and his taste is seen in some of the features of its tower. This fight won, another matured later when proposals ripened to unite the denominational colleges around the University of Toronto. With this went the aim of some to abolish University College and let the federating colleges do its work, while all should have the benefit of the teaching in the state university. Since the Methodist Victoria College was the only one to federate at the time, it was seriously proposed to hand over for its use the building of a defunct University College. This, of course, Wilson fought with his wonted vituperative vigour while, on the other hand, he wished to see the federating universities become merely divinity schools. Each side lacked appreciation of the view of the other, but a happy solution was found as described fully in Mr. W. S. Wallace's recent *History of the University of Toronto*.

The destruction by fire of University College, in 1890, was a heavy blow to Wilson, who had become its head, but he faced with courage the task of reconstruction. Two years later he died at the age of seventy-six. "Those", says Mr. Langton from personal knowledge, "who had the privilege of knowing him in his private life remember chiefly his warmth of heart, his overflowing humour and geniality and his old-fashioned gallantry and politeness" (p. 234). To the last, his practice

on receiving a letter was to make instant reply. Mr. Langton tells that when he broke off literary composition he would leave a sentence unfinished in order the more readily to take up the thread again. When words began to come slowly even to his readiness, he knew it was a sign of brain fag and eased it by a walk in the open air. Mr. Langton has written a book correct in style and appreciative in insight. One criticism may have some validity. It would have been interesting to have had a bibliography of Sir Daniel Wilson, though to make one of his varied writings would have proved a difficult task.

GEORGE M. WRONG

Sir George Parkin: A Biography. By Sir JOHN WILLISON. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1929. Pp. 278.

THIS well-written book will interest a wide circle of readers. In three fields Sir George Parkin was a dominant figure. In the Imperial Federation League, Lord Rosebery once called him "the bagman of Empire", and Buckle of *The Times* claimed that he "shifted the mind of England." Later on he personified the expanding agencies commandeered by the bounty of Cecil Rhodes. More poignant than either, perhaps, is the intimate study of Parkin's ventures into education in New Brunswick and at Upper Canada College in Toronto.

The long trail from the New Brunswick "bush" to Oxford and beyond—a tradit on long before the days of Rhodes Scholarships—has never been more vividly traced. Bliss Carman used to say that Parkin's gift to his pupils was "next to the gift of life, the greatest that one man can render another"—a "character as untarnished as flame", a "loosened energy" and zest for life that left men like Roberts, Francis Sherman and Bliss Carman himself, "haunted forever."

Two sets of contacts at Oxford dominated the rest of Parkin's life. His friendship with Thring of Uppingham opened a poignant chapter in education—a barren experiment in a boarding school for boys in New Brunswick and a happier venture at Upper Canada College. With insight and without extenuation Principal Grant, who contributes this intimate chapter of the book, traces Parkin's fine idealism, taking flight with the swoop of an eagle but beating itself into sheer weariness against the barriers of routine and worldly distractions.

The other train of influence, too, was not without its poignancy. No man ever lived who was less hide-bound by the mechanics either of government or of administration; yet it was his lot to labour for lost causes under conditions which nothing but his own ardour could have made tolerable. The life and death of the Federation League left him, as Thring once wrote, to commune like Moses with shepherd thoughts in

the wilderness. Even in the Rhodes scheme the short cuts, by which powerful personalities like Rhodes and Milner sometimes chose to work, were not seldom the longest way home. In the realm of true scholarship and the human spirit the wind bloweth where it listeth, and no pre-concerted idea or ideal could have forestalled the daily task of interpreting realities, it may be upon the "frontiers", with truth and insight. In that sense the function of Rhodes men was to purvey not a body of doctrine but a deeper understanding. Parkin's fine idealism had its setting at last in serenity and sunshine.

The closing chapters deal with "Incidents and controversies", with the prodigious range of Parkin's public speaking and writing, and with "The man as he was." There are three excellent portraits and a good index.

CHESTER MARTIN

Polk: The Diary of a President, 1845-1849. Covering the Mexican War, the Acquisition of Oregon, and the Conquest of California and the Southwest. Edited by ALLAN NEVINS. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1929. Pp. xxv, 412.

THIS volume is based upon a fuller diary of President Polk published in a limited edition in 1910. To make the diary available for the general public, Mr. Nevins has selected those entries which reveal the character of Polk and throw light upon the chief problems of his administration. Also, he has provided a table of contents, an index, an introduction, a bibliographical note, a set of footnotes, and a score of illustrations.

The introduction is an interpretation of the diary and an estimate of Polk. It is both objective and interesting. The footnotes are excellent, knitting together the conflicting ideals and rival personalities of the age, and enabling the reader to follow the president as he cautiously and cunningly picks his steps through the dirt of patronage, the insincerity of jingoism, the ambition of judges and generals, the lobbying of big interests, the sparring of slave-holders and abolitionists, the internecine feuds of Mexico, and the diplomacy of European powers, towards the achievement of his four great measures: the reduction of the tariff, the establishment of an independent treasury, the settlement of the Oregon question, and the acquisition of California.

The writing of the diary originated in a memorandum of an important conversation between President Polk and Buchanan, his secretary of state, on the Oregon question. This became a habit. At first the style is inclined to be stiff and formal as if the president was conscious of posterity; but, after two months have passed, it becomes personal and one feels that the work is an intimate revelation of policies, jealousies, suspicions, limited outlook, and confusion of thought on moral issues.

Polk is "shocked" that vested interests would attempt to bribe senators in order to defend the Walker tariff; but, at the same time, he is influencing congress to secure an appropriation of two million dollars to exploit the necessities of Mexico and to bribe a faction to surrender more quickly New Mexico and California. Again, while suggesting that an opponent who had assisted in a duel was cut off by "divine wrath", he justifies national duelling and makes a distinction between a war of conquest and territorial compensation to a nation which has played the part of aggressor.

Of special interest to Canadians is the account of both the Oregon question and the war with Mexico. It may serve to illustrate the difficulties inherent in the relations between Canada and the United States at various critical periods during the nineteenth century, and may throw light, for example, on what might have occurred in British Columbia and Manitoba at the time of Confederation.

The diary was well worth re-publishing and the editorial work has been competently done.

D. C. HARVEY

The Pageant of America. Vol. II: *The Lure of the Frontier, a Story of Race Conflict*. By RALPH HENRY GABRIEL. Vol. XIV: *The American Stage*. By ORAL SUMNER COAD and EDWIN MIMS, Jr. Vol. XV: *Annals of American Sport*. By JOHN ALLEN KROUT. New Haven: Yale University Press. Toronto: Glasgow, Brook and Co. 1929. Pp. 327; 362; 360.

WITH these three volumes the publishers of *The Pageant of America* have brought to a conclusion their ambitious and laudable project of giving to the world a pictorial history of the United States. The idea, originally conceived by the late Robert Glasgow, to whom Canada owes the first really effective presentation of her history, has been carried into execution by his partner, Mr. Arthur Brook, with a loyalty and a courage that command admiration. Pictorial history is a costly business, and even professional historians are too often blind to the advantages of visual education in history. But Mr. Brook has produced, in fifteen volumes, a pictorial history of the United States in which no expense has been spared, and which will demonstrate to the most skeptical the indisputable importance of pictorial illustration as an adjunct to the study of history.

The three volumes under review are among the most successful in the series. The first illustrates in masterly fashion Professor Turner's great thesis of the influence of the frontier in American history; one could wish, indeed, that everyone who reads Professor Turner's pages might first have the opportunity of examining the illustrations which Professor

Gabriel has brought together. They would give a reality to the doctrine of the frontier to be achieved in no other way. Incidentally, Professor Gabriel's volume has a decided interest for the student of Canadian history because of its treatment of the history of the Old North West (once, for a few brief years, part of Canada) and of the history of exploration. The volume on the American stage illustrates a phase of social life common to the United States and to Canada; and the volume on American sport, although it devotes scarcely any attention to the development of sport in Canada, provides a vivid background for the history of a phase of life to which historians have hitherto devoted far too little attention. The revolution produced in the life of the average man and woman by machinery or by electricity is scarcely more profound than that produced, within the memory of comparatively young people, by the amazing development of the instinct for play—and the strange thing is that this owes almost nothing to mechanical invention or progress. Baseball, lacrosse, golf, lawn tennis, ice-hockey, rugby football, badminton—all these games, which play so considerable a part in the lives of vast numbers of people, have been introduced or come into popular favour within the memory of men still living. The story of all of them is told and illustrated by Mr. Krout in a most interesting and authoritative manner. One's only regret is that Mr. Krout did not find it possible to give to Canadians the credit for the initiation in America of golf, lacrosse, and ice-hockey.

W. S. WALLACE

Emigration from the British Isles: With special reference to the Development of the Overseas Dominions. By W. A. CARROTHERS. London: P. S. King and Son. 1929. Pp. xii, 328.

A work, such as this, which pulls together within one volume the main threads of the history of British emigration in the last century, and concludes with a penetrating analysis of present-day migration problems, has been badly needed.

The book begins, as others have, with a survey of early settlements in the colonies and an account of economic and social conditions in the British Isles during the period 1815-31. Then come five chapters devoted to Wakefield's work, in theory and practice, and to Canada and the *Durham Report*. This story, of course, has been told before, and Wakefield and Durham have already received, possibly, more than their due share of space. Professor Carrothers's contribution is made through his sounder grasp of economic history and his wider familiarity with government reports than that of any previous investigator in this field.

It may be a question, however, whether a people's emigration can be

thoroughly understood without going closer to the people themselves than is possible from the contemporary evidence given in the artificial situation created before government commissions. For example, Professor Carrothers repeats the theory that a great increase of population was the inevitable result of the system of relief set up after Speenhamland. But Clapham, whose analysis has been made from first-hand sources, is now turning from this old explanation. The time required to patch out by minute, local research the opinions of innumerable contemporary committees and theorists would be enormous; nevertheless, until this is done, the history of the people's emigration seems to be little more than the history of government policy, enlivened by concrete details from a few well-known communal migrations.

In the later chapters, such as those on "Depression and emigration 1878-97", "Emigration and the unity of the Empire", and especially in "Migration problems to-day", Professor Carrothers has done original and valuable work. For the first time one begins to see British migration movements in their true world setting (p. 225-6). And finally, it is made clear that a new set of economic factors, including social legislation in Great Britain and slackening expansion in the dominions, accounts for the failure of the present attempt to re-distribute population, and may be an indication that the last century's emigrations are drawing to a close.

If it is true, as the preface indicates, that this investigation was undertaken to prepare the way for a study of the economics of migration, it is regrettable that a bibliography is lacking and that footnotes are rather indefinite. It is a surprise, too, to miss from familiar quotations (which are numerous, and one of which now appears for the third time in reprint) phrases and whole sentences, such as those omitted from Professor Nicholson in the frontispiece, and from Lord Selkirk on pages 9, 10 and 11. Then in the matter of style there are infelicities unusual in a book published in England: the absence of quotation marks around quotations such as those from Dunbabin (pp. 24, 28-9); the use of "U.S.A." (p. 62), and the monotonous repetition of language shown on pages 162 and 227.

In view of the scope of the book these points, and others such as differences of opinion regarding the government's reason for encouraging Irish emigration, and the relation between Horton's and Wakefield's theories (pp. 52, 96-7), are only of momentary import. There are twelve useful statistical tables, one of which gives immigration returns as late as 1928.

HELEN I. COWAN

The Central European Immigrant in Canada. By ROBERT ENGLAND.
Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1929. Pp. xvii,
238.

THERE is no scarcity in Canada of public utterances, printed or otherwise, on the problem of immigration, but there has been remarkably little objective study. It seems extraordinarily difficult to avoid prejudice or sentimentality on the one hand and statistical dullness on the other. This book by Mr. Robert England is a distinct exception to this statement. It is not a great book, but an honest attempt of a thoughtful and extraordinarily well-informed man to deal adequately with Canada's most important immigration problem, *viz.*, the immigrants who come from central Europe. As a rural school teacher in Saskatchewan, Mr. England has seen at first-hand the non-English settler in his new home, while, as European superintendent of immigration for the Canadian National Railways, he has surveyed the areas from which the immigrant comes and has followed the processes by which people are torn from one environment and transplanted in another. A good deal of the book is based on the unique experiment carried on by the Masonic Order in Saskatchewan some years ago, by which scholarships were offered to qualified teachers who would spend a specified time in non-English settlements. Mr. England has drawn heavily on the reports of the interested group of teachers who responded to this challenge.

Briefly, as Mr. England sees it, the problem is one of overwhelming importance since he estimates that in northern Saskatchewan over fifty per cent. of the rural population is now made up of foreigners; and, while his book was being completed, the turmoil of the last Saskatchewan election has proved what disturbing influences are at work in that province. We need in Canada, thinks the writer, primarily agricultural settlers. It can be clearly shown that, in spite of large expenditures of money, these are not available in large numbers in Great Britain, nor are increasing numbers coming from northern Europe and from those countries which are preferred under our immigration regulations. The largest group and, he thinks, the best agricultural settlers are likely to come from central Europe, particularly from the plains of Hungary and Russia. Having examined at length the European background, Mr. England is inclined to think that racial differences are not important, that it is indeed almost impossible to speak of races in Europe where almost every nation is made up of a score of strains. What is important is cultural background, traditions, habits of life and thought, and education. Transplanted to a new country and settled in blocks, the central European immigrant clings to many of the undesirable social and economic conditions which characterized his somewhat hopeless life in Europe.

Mr. England quotes generously from reports of teachers to show how bad conditions may be in one of these central European settlements. He does not think, however, that such conditions are irremediable; the main solvent for the problem is to be found in the rural school which may, if properly managed and controlled, work wonders for the new generation. The rural school, however, must not be controlled by an authority too narrowly local. The solid blocks of foreign settlement must be broken up. With the rural school must go tolerance and a wise study of problems, rather than drastic policies hastily conceived in resentment. After studying the problems of assimilation, Mr. England concludes that the present immigration policy is on the whole a wise one; that careful selection, with greater attention paid to education and mental capacity, is better than a rigid quota system, and that, if such policies are adopted, Canada may continue to take substantial numbers of immigrants from central Europe without encountering serious difficulties of assimilation, and with benefit to herself.

Mr. England found it necessary to contribute an introduction to the whole problem of immigration before discussing the special problems of the central European, and there seems thus to be a lack of balance which is perhaps more apparent than real. From the general discussion of immigration one misses a thorough handling of the question of whether, after all, more immigration of any sort is necessary, although perhaps the book could not be expected to deal with it. With the rapid mechanisation of farming, it is not clear that the settled area in western Canada will expand rapidly; it is not clear that it ought to expand.

Mr. England's book is timely, well-informed, objective, and well written. He knows Europe, he knows the Canadian West, and he has grappled seriously with an important problem. Members of parliament, as well as others, may not read the book but they ought to.

W. A. MACKINTOSH

The Civil Service of Canada. By ROBERT MACGREGOR DAWSON. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 266.

STUDENTS of Canadian government and politics have long felt the need of monograph material on the history and working of Canadian institutions. Professor Dawson's *The civil service of Canada* fills an important gap, and fills it adequately. The first part is a history of the federal civil service, the second, a criticism of the present régime.

The Canadian civil service has had a sorry history. Patronage surrounded its birth under colonial governors and family compacts. With responsible government, party leaders assumed the right of determining

appointments, and after Confederation the tradition of patronage was transferred to the new capital, along with former provincial officials. Federation also ushered in the American practice of dismissal of party opponents and the appointment of party supporters. For forty years the dominion service wandered deep in the wilderness of patronage. Though examining boards after the English model were set up in 1868 and again in 1888, they were without the power or independence to break with tradition. Real reform came only in 1908 when appointments to the "inside service" were entrusted to an independent examining board, the present civil service commission. The improvement of the "outside service" followed on the wave of reform which accompanied the Great War.

In the second part of the book, the present régime is subjected to trenchant criticism. The reform movement of the war period was guided by sentiment rather than by intelligence; the virtues of the old system were repudiated along with its vices. The old system was based on sound English lines in that it divided the service roughly into two groups of positions: administrative, for which academic examinations were required; and routine, for which technical examinations, based on the nature of the job, were more likely to be required. The new system, devised on American lines, provides a rigid stratification of positions, with specialized examinations based on the nature of the task to be performed. This automatically restricts the highly educated, but technically untrained, candidate, and opens the door to pedants who know but little more than the job. And not only appointments, but promotions, reclassification, transfers, and oversight of salaries, are also entrusted to the civil service commission without question as to whether the commission can perform these tasks better than the deputy minister at the head of the department, or whether, indeed, it can perform them at all. Patronage dominated the service in the past; fear of patronage dominates it to-day to the extent of greatly interfering with efficiency.

Professor Dawson's familiarity with the literature of the English civil service, his sound scholarly methods, his realistic point of view, combine to make this an important contribution, while his vigorous and sometimes satirical pen serves to enliven a subject which often appears arid to the layman. This is a book which demands the attention, not alone of the scholar, but of the long-suffering tax-payer on whose shoulders the defects of the public service ultimately fall.

ROBERT A. MACKAY

Open Secrets: Off the Beaten Track in Canada's Story. By SELWYN P. GRIFFIN. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1929. Pp. viii, 328; illustrations.

The thirty sketches in this volume are reprinted from various periodicals. The title is not a happy one. There is nothing secret about any of the subjects of the sketches, and most of them are far from being off the beaten track. The author describes his stories as "merely appetizers to the more continuous reading of one of the most absorbing histories of the New World." If his list of "Sources and authorities" is intended as a guide to this deeper reading they are far from adequate. There is, for example, no mention of Parkman's works, though many of the same incidents are described by that great historian of New France. On the other hand, the sources can hardly be taken to represent more than a portion of what the author himself has used.

The greater part of the book is devoted to New France. The first sketch is a not very convincing comparison between the "elastic, firm, durable" organization of the Six Nations and the "fumbling, unsteady arrangement" of the League of Nations. Other sketches describe incidents from the lives of men such as Maisonneuve, Du Lhut, La Hontan, Frontenac, and some others less well known. When Mr. Griffin comes to the British period his history is less satisfactory. In "Walker's ear" and "Morituri te salutamus", he insists on assuming that the British settlers who came to Canada after 1760 were just as their enemies painted them, and he seems to forget that the British government encouraged them to come. His account of British policy in the latter article is, to say the least, not based on the modern authorities on that period.

There is a real place for the popular account, but only so long as it is based on sound scholarship. In so far as it strays from this it ceases to aid the cause of the writer. Again, one has only to mention Parkman to illustrate what can be achieved in the combining of vivid description with thorough knowledge of the subject.

G. DET. GLAZEBROOK

Fox Hunting in Canada and Some Men who Made it. By FRANK PROCTOR.

Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1929. Pp. 373. MR. PROCTOR's record of fox hunting in Canada was written, one may imagine, for two reasons: first, out of his own tremendous enthusiasm for the sport; second, to give pleasure to his friends who share that enthusiasm. It is a most informal record, almost like a scrap-book of recollections of horsemen and horses and horsemanship. There are more than one hundred full-page illustrations, including a very interesting reproduction in colours of a military steeplechase held at London,

Ontario, on May 9, 1843. The original drawing was made by Lady Alexander, an accomplished horsewoman and wife of Sir James Alexander, soldier, traveller and author, at that time in command of the 14th regiment in garrison at London. Fox hunting as a sport was introduced into Canada by the military, and by some of the better class English families who came to Canada in the 'thirties and 'forties. Mr. Proctor's book has only slight historical importance, but there are interesting pages in it for almost any reader, and to the elect of the sport itself the volume will be long a joy.

FRED LONDON

The Chronicle of a Century, 1829-1929: A Record of One Hundred Years of Progress in the Publishing Concerns of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches in Canada. Edited by LORNE PIERCE. Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1929. Pp. xvi, 271.

It was in 1829 that the *Christian Guardian* was founded in the town of York, and in connection with it the Methodist Book and Publishing House. The United Church Publishing House, of which this was the earliest forerunner, is, thus, now over one hundred years old, and is by far the oldest of publishing houses in Canada. It was, therefore, fitting that Dr. Lorne Pierce, the editor of the United Church Publishing House, should have had the happy idea of publishing a memorial volume recounting the history of the various publishing houses which have been merged in the Ryerson Press. The book contains a wealth of valuable information. It has biographical sketches of the editors of the *Christian Guardian* and of the "book stewards" of the Methodist Book and Publishing House, and an account of the various periodicals which have been published by the Methodists. It has also a list of the editors of the *Presbyterian Witness* and the Presbyterian Sunday School publications, the *Presbyterian Record* and the *Presbyterian and Westminster*, as well as an account of the publishers of the Congregational Union of Canada. Finally, there is an account of the organization of the United Church Publishing House as the result of the union of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches in 1925.

As a contribution to the history of printing and publishing in Canada, the volume deserves a warm welcome. One could wish that, in view of the lamentable lack of information about books published in Upper Canada, Dr. Pierce had had the idea of including in his book not only sketches of the editors and officials of the Ryerson Press, but also a bibliography of the books printed and published by the Press. This would have been for scholars and library workers a feature much more valuable than some of those which are included in the book. But per-

haps the question of space was a difficulty which could not be surmounted. Certainly a list of the books published by the Ryerson Press during the last century would not lack generous proportions.

W. S. WALLACE

The St. Lawrence Navigation and Power Project. By HAROLD G. MOULTON, CHARLES S. MORGAN and ADAH L. LEE. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution. 1929. Pp. xvi, 676.

THIS is in many ways the most serious examination of the economic aspects of the proposed St. Lawrence deepening and power scheme which has yet appeared. As the report of an investigation carried on over a period of several years by the Brookings Institution of Washington, and completed through the collaboration of economists and others whose technical competence is beyond question, it is entitled to the most careful consideration. A very large mass of assorted information, ranging from statistics to opinions prophetic and otherwise, was collected and digested by the authors, and they have here presented their conclusions with admirable clearness. A brief survey of the history of the present proposals is followed by discussion of such questions as the depth of channel required for a first-class waterway, the types of boats which could or would use it, the probable cost of construction, the potential available traffic, the relation of the new route to railroad traffic and freight rates, and the advisability of the hydro-electric power development. Elaborate appendices, occupying almost two-thirds of the volume, indicate the nature of the detailed studies on which conclusions were based.

The conclusions reached are almost wholly adverse to the project in general and to its early completion in particular; so that, whether the authors desired it or not, the book is, in fact, a strong indictment of the present proposals. A channel of even 30 feet would be inadequate; the estimated cost would be greatly exceeded, partly because it omits important items; the total traffic through the St. Lawrence canals would probably not exceed 10,500,000 tons annually, or only about 2,000,000 tons more than is passing through the present 14-foot channel; annual overhead charges would be as much as \$36,000,000 per year, "which means that the tax-payers are to contribute about \$3.50 per ton for the benefit of such shippers as would use the route"; the power development, while it will doubtless be economically profitable in time, would be premature at present;—such is the burden of the argument. Questions might be raised with regard to certain points of detail: one wonders, to take only one instance, why the entire cost of improving the harbours of the upper lakes should be charged against the scheme, since the process of improvement will no doubt continue for the sake of traffic in the

upper lakes whether the St. Lawrence is deepened or not. But the weakness of the book is not so much in matters of detail as in the general impression conveyed by the work as a whole. The writers occasionally warn the reader that the conclusions are tentative, but the volume carries so much of the usual paraphernalia of expert inquiry and is pervaded by an air of such solemn and ponderous authority that the reader may be forgiven if he forgets the inconspicuous warning. While the most careful study, based on all the available information, should be given to a problem of this magnitude, the fact is that the expert in this kind of investigation is forced to deal largely in the very coin of prophecy which he condemns as spurious. Let us by all means have thorough investigation in the hope that we may avoid easy-going, ignorant optimism; but let us remember that, as in the case of steam navigation, the history of a thousand inventions and public improvements is strewn with the wreckage of expert forecasts which failed to materialize. When the expert bases his prophetic utterance on an analysis of present conditions, which are certain to change to an extent impossible to calculate, it should be recognized that his statements have the validity of opinions—not of Euclidean propositions.

GEORGE W. BROWN

Mit zwanzig Dollar in den wilden Westen: Schicksale aus Urwald, Steppe, Busch und Stadt. By E. JOHANN. Berlin: Ullstein, 1928. Pp. 261; illustrations and map. (5 Marks.)

Von Kueste zu Kueste: Bei den deutschen Auswanderern in Kanada. By H. WAGNER. Hamburg: Verlag der Ev. Luth. Auswanderermission. 1929. Pp. 128; illustrations and maps.

THIS book may be regarded as a companion volume to Max Otto's now luckily exploded *In kanadischer Wildnis* (see the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, 1924, pp. 77-79). The two books have much in common. Both are emulators of Baron Munchausen; both contain excellent facsimiles of official Canadian photographs reproduced without as much as a "by courtesy of . . .", or any reference to their origin; both have been sold by thousands; both are most popular Christmas and birthday presents for the reading youth of Germany. Finally, both seem to have been written with a view to creating hostile feelings towards Canada. As to the former, the train of exposure first laid in the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, led finally in the course of this year to the *reductio ad absurdum* of Max Otto's flights of imagination.

Johann is the *nom de plume* of a certain Herr Wollschlaeger who went out to Canada in 1927 to write a series of articles for the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung*, some of which showed power of observation, and embryonic

journalistic tendencies. The book under review deals with pseudo-veracious adventures and experiences in Canada, mainly in the "Wild" West.

What must puzzle Canadians and those who know Canada is that such a book should circulate in Germany by tens of thousands and not a voice be raised to point out its obvious untruths. The danger of such writers is that they are believed and convey a totally wrong impression about Canadians and Canada, a country, they would have us believe, inhabited by braggarts, brutes, bullies, snobs and fools. The harm done would be considerably reduced if books of this ilk were frankly published as fiction; but in a world still aching from the wounds of a terrible war, partly due to the universal ignorance of countries other than one's own, they tend to keep the wounds raw and to sow hatred and suspicion.

A few examples of Wollschlaeger's statements will suffice to show what is supposed to be possible in Canada, and what, according to him, the country is like. In Edmonton—a filthy city measured by European standards—there are dirty hovels rubbing shoulders with magnificent edifices (p. 12). Fifty miles west of Pigeon Lake, Alta., he tells us (pp. 21 ff), that in the autumn of 1917 a crowd of Germans, Swedes, Danes, and Dutch were hiding in some dense forest-clad hills called the Crow Mountains to avoid being conscripted. Altogether there were about a hundred men and a young Swiss woman with the mythological name of Diana. Towards the spring of 1918 a Swede called Sven shot her husband (Andreas). A few weeks later he murdered her brother, and afterwards committed an abominable crime on Diana, causing her to kill herself. Sven disappeared, and the hundred gentlemen, in the midst of whose camp all this happened, followed his example. Nobody bothered about Diana's body, which was eaten by wolves. It would be interesting to learn what the Alberta police records have to say about this.

Herr Wollschlaeger paid \$20 a day for a room at the Chateau Lake Louise (p. 63). However, although he only went out West with \$20 in his pockets, he may have been able to afford this sum as he met some ladies at the hotel to whom he gave two lessons a day in philosophy for the trifle of \$10 a lesson (p. 66)! The inhabitants of Vernon, B.C., where he is supposed to have worked for a Japanese tomato-grower, will be surprised to learn that it is situated in "northern Canada" (p. 81). On page 135 we get a taste of the Canadian winter which would have put Munchausen's imagination to the blush. A certain farmer named Stephan Bull was held up for four days by a snowstorm in a town sixteen miles from home ("somewhere" on the prairie). When he got back he found his wife and children—number not given—frozen

stiff; the latter in bed covered with pillows and blankets, the former kneeling at their bedside. There is a story (p. 136) of a Scotchman named Pittenweem (*sic!*) whom he met at an employment bureau in Alberta inquiring for a German farm-hand, and, who, on being told there were none to be had, said he'd take two Swedes or Danes. The official told him he had none on his books, whereupon our Scot banged the table with his fist and said "well, then let me have five Englishmen!"

The most incredible story is on pages 206-222, namely, that the author was engaged by the Vancouver broadcasting station to play some music on the piano composed by a man called Heinrich Wetzler, a name he made up; and that during his performance he simply played anything that came into his head. To make this story more credible he remarks, in a footnote (p. 218), that he is prepared to give name and date of the newspaper containing the announcement and particulars of his concert. The result of his successful trick was that he became a social lion in Vancouver, and he says at the end of the chapter that he is proud of having made fools of the "snobs" in that city.

The second volume under review is of a different order. The Rev. H. Wagner spent several months in travelling through Canada in 1928. His special aim was to study the German settlements. The results of his journey are presented in this little book, which, after giving a brief description of the geography, economics, and culture of the Dominion, devotes considerable space to the Germans in Canada and the rôle played by the Lutheran Church in connection with immigration. Prospective German emigrants to Canada will find it a useful guide, the more so as the author is the pastor of the Lutheran Emigration Mission of Hamburg. The fact that the United States have cut the German quota down to half of last year's figure has brought Canada into the limelight in Germany as a field for emigrants, and the result has been a growing interest in the Dominion. Dr. Wagner's book is an indication of this fact, and there are signs that in future Canada will be the subject of a good many books and theses in Germany.

LOUIS HAMILTON

Chippewa Customs. By FRANCES DENSMORE. (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 86.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1929. Pp. xii, 204; illustrations.

The first mention of the Ojibwa, to use the term by which the "Chippewa" are usually designated in Canada, appears to have been in the Jesuit *Relation* of 1640, when members of the tribe were described as living at Sault Ste. Marie. Although from that date onwards the Ojibwa have been in constant and ever-increasing contact with Euro-

peans, there has been little careful study of their customs. The north shore of Lake Superior, with northern Wisconsin and Minnesota, has remained far removed from intensive settlement; lack of political organization and of martial prowess on the part of the inhabitants has never made a knowledge of their customs necessary to the white man, as was the case with the Iroquois; and the absence of dramatic or spectacular elements in their culture has saved them from the "investigations" of the curious, and has even lessened their interest in the eyes of the anthropologist. For these reasons, the Ojibwa, although one of the most populous tribes east of the plains, have never figured prominently in history, and their contact with the white man has been largely with the trader and the missionary, who have slowly brought about such radical changes in their life that the old ways are no longer remembered by the younger people.

Miss Densmore has worked at intervals among the Ojibwa for twenty-four years, chiefly in Minnesota, but also among the bands in western Ontario which are, in culture, practically identical. Her primary subject of study, their music, has been an open door to many phases of their activities. In this volume, she describes in considerable detail the mode of life and the material culture of the people. She would be the first to admit that the book is not a complete compendium of Ojibwa customs and beliefs; social organization and religion are described only in the broadest terms, and her account of the Midewiwin is tantalizing to the anthropologist for its omissions. But Miss Densmore is at her best in recording the daily tasks and routine of life, and her observations stamp her as a keen and sympathetic chronicler. Particularly good are her descriptions of children's games, and she strikes a distinctly human touch with the methods of amusing and teaching the infants during the long winter evenings in the cramped wigwams. As a child grows older he begins to imitate his parents; in former times this meant to forage for food in the woods, to paddle the birch-bark canoe, to hunt with bow and arrow and with snares, to wear snow-shoes, and—still more important—to dream, for it was only through dreams that one could obtain the guardian spirit so essential to success in life. Having such supernatural aid, a youth could face manhood with confidence, equipped for the essential tasks of hunting and fishing, of wild rice gathering, of tool-making, of warfare. To the women fell the care of the children, the cooking, the sewing, the weaving, the basket-making and the making of decorations proper for each type of material; Miss Densmore has studied the actual designs in use as well as old half-forgotten motifs belonging to the age when beads were less plentiful than now.

The presentation of the material is logical and clear; the authoress is studiously careful of her phraseology, but, even through her terse,

scientific sentences, one can picture a hardy, kindly people, living their simple but busy lives in the forests, their behaviour always swayed by the supernatural. Such were the Ojibwa before their old *mores* decayed; similar were the other Algonkian-speaking tribes encountered by the French in Ontario, and only a little imagination is needed to visualize the early fathers amid the scenes of daily life so clearly described and so beautifully illustrated in this volume.

T. F. McILWRAITH

Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1928-1929. Founded by J. CASTELL HOPKINS. Toronto: Canadian Review Company. 1929. Pp. 785.

THIS useful review or register of Canadian affairs for 1928-29, the twenty-eighth year of its issue, requires little comment, save to say that it is in no way inferior to the volumes which have preceded it. Two sections which have been a feature of recent issues, those on national organizations and on sports, have, it is true, been omitted, owing to unforeseen circumstances, but these sections are to be resumed in the next issue. The volume contains the same exhaustive and impartial treatment of imperial, dominion, and provincial affairs as is to be found in earlier volumes, and in addition there are sections on the St. Lawrence development, literature, history, music, drama, art, journalism, and the churches in Canada. There are also the usual sections on Canadian books of 1928, and Canadian obituaries for 1928-29. A full and detailed index makes all this material readily available. All students of current affairs in Canada should bless the memory of the founder of this invaluable *Review*.

W. S. WALLACE

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a later and more extended review.)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

ALLEN, Sir JOHN SANDEMAN. *Migration problems* (United Empire, January, 1930, pp. 15-21).

A memorandum giving the writer's impressions on the migration problem after a visit to Canada in 1929, and his recommendations connected therewith.

ANDERSON, J. C. *Dominion status* (Canadian bar review, January, 1930, pp. 32-48).

A summary of the legal status of the dominions.

CAHAN, C. H. *Pending developments in the constitution of the British Empire*. Montreal: 1929. Pp. 20.

An address delivered before the Empire Club, Toronto, on January 17, 1929.

DEWEY, A. GORDON. *The dominions and diplomacy: The Canadian contribution*. Two volumes. London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1929. Pp. xv, 375; 397.

To be reviewed later.

GILLET, G. M. *Overseas trade* (United Empire, December, 1929, pp. 691-694).

An address on Empire trade expansion.

HADFIELD, Sir ROBERT. *Economic organisation and development of Empire* (Contemporary review, November, 1929, pp. 569-575).

Recommendations for the organized development of our imperial resources and for a scheme of imperial co-operation.

KENNEDY, W. P. M. *Theories of law and the constitutional law of the British Empire*.

An address read by invitation before the Canadian Bar Association, Quebec, September 6, 1929. Pp. 15.

An illuminating discussion in which certain theories of law are linked with the constitutional law of the British Empire.

MCCURDY, CHARLES A. *Empire free trade* (Contemporary review, January, 1930, pp. 13-18).

A plea for the removal of all barriers to free commercial intercourse between the nations within the British commonwealth.

MARRIOTT, Sir JOHN. *Dominion status* (Nineteenth century, January, 1930, pp. 56-69).

A scholarly elucidation of the problem of sovereignty in the British commonwealth.

MELCHETT, The Rt. Hon. Lord. *A business man surveys the Empire* (Empire review, January, 1930, pp. 12-18).

A serious consideration of the economic possibilities of the Empire, and a plea for a British imperial trade system.

The prerogative of dissolution (Round table, December, 1929, pp. 32-49).

A constitutional inspection of the prerogative of dissolution and the proper manner and occasion of its exercise, and an investigation of the practice in the dominions.

ROBERTS, JOHN. *Migration and unemployment* (Contemporary review, January, 1930, pp. 71-79).

A theory that the alleviation of unemployment in the British Isles may be achieved by migration to the dominions.

- WINTER, CYRIL M. *Empire settlement* (Nineteenth century, January, 1930, pp. 81-85).
An explanation of the comparative failure of emigration and land-settlement schemes.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

- BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *The discovery of Canada*. Ottawa: The Graphic Publishers. 1929. Pp. 103.

The dramatic story is unfolded of the gradual discovery of Canada, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the American boundary to the Arctic. The first chapter outlines the history of discovery from the Atlantic coast up to the head of the Great Lakes. The second chapter deals with the exploration of the plains and the north country, and the third chapter tells of the pathfinders from the mountains to the western sea.

- DENNY, LUDWELL. *America conquers Britain*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1930. Pp. xi, 429, xvi.

To be reviewed later.

- GABRIEL, RALPH HENRY. *The lure of the frontier: A story of race conflict. (The pageant of America: A pictorial history of the United States. Edited by RALPH HENRY GABRIEL and others. Volume 2.)* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1929. Pp. 327.

Reviewed on page 68.

- GRIFFIN, SELWYN P. *Open secrets: Off the beaten track in Canada's story*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1929. Pp. viii, 328.

Reviewed on page 74.

- JANE, CECIL. *New light on Columbus* (Contemporary review, January, 1930, pp. 80-87).

An examination of the controversy that has arisen over the life and character of Columbus, and an account of the new versions of the story of the discovery of America.

- KARR, W. J. *Explorers, soldiers and statesmen: A history of Canada through biography*. Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1929. Pp. xii, 345.

Résumés of the lives and works of fifty-two Canadian nation-builders. The author traces the trend of Canada's history through the lives of Champlain, Cartier, Talon, Wolfe, Montcalm, Carleton, La Vérendrye, Macdonald, Brown, Tupper, and many other outstanding figures.

- KERR, PHILIP. *Europa und Amerika gestern, heute und morgen* (Europäische Gespräche, November-Dezember, 1929, pp. 569-594).

Reflections on the post-war tendencies and relations of two continents.

- KROUT, JOHN ALLEN. *Annals of American sport. (The pageant of America: A pictorial history of the United States. Edited by RALPH HENRY GABRIEL and others. Volume 15.)* New Haven: Yale University Press. 1929. Pp. 360.

Reviewed on page 68.

- LONGSTAFF, Major F. V. *H.M.S. Ganges, 1821 to 1929* (Canadian defence quarterly, July, 1929, pp. 487-492).

Some historical data on the San Juan Island dispute and a record of doings at Esquimalt in colonial days.

- PIERCE, LORNE. *Toward the bonne entente*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1929. Pp. 43.

A consideration of an *entente cordiale* in Canadian literature.

PROCTOR, FRANK. *Fox hunting in Canada and some men who made it*. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1929. Pp. 373.

Reviewed on page 74.

ROBITAILLE, Abbé GEORGES. *Etudes sur Garneau, critique historique*. [Montreal]: Librairie d'action canadienne-française. 1929. Pp. 253.

To be reviewed later.

ROOSEVELT, NICHOLAS. *America and England*. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 1930. Pp. x, 254.

To be reviewed later.

SEARS, MINNIE EARL. *Standard catalog for public libraries: History and travel section*. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. 1929. Pp. xiv, 285.

The section on Canada is a curiously selected and totally inadequate bibliography.

TROTTER, REGINALD G. *The bibliography of Canadian constitutional history*. Reprinted from the papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, volume XXII, part 1, 1928. Pp. 12.

An extremely useful and well-balanced bibliography for students and librarians.

— *Republic and dominion as neighbours* (Kiwani magazine, September, 1929, pp. 445-446, 481-482).

A discussion of Canadian-American relations, of backgrounds and traditions, of similarities and differences, with a few suggestions for the future.

(2) New France

Le baptême des bancs de Terre-Neuve (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1929, pp. 741-745).

An old custom described by the traveller Le Beau.

BOVEY, WILFRID. *The brass-bound man: A plea for Donnacona*. Montreal: Supplement to the McGill News. 1929. Pp. 1-7.

A vindication of Donnacona who, instead of being a remarkably inventive liar, gave Cartier valuable information about the natural resources of northern Quebec.

GOSSELIN, AMÉDÉE. *L'Abbé Alexandre Doucet* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1929, pp. 720-723).

A biographical sketch of a missionary at Charlesbourg at the end of the seventeenth century.

— *L'Abbé Dominique de Voble* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1929, pp. 711-713).

A brief biography of an early missionary in Canada.

HARPER, IRENE M. *The first complete exploration of Hudson's Bay* (Cambridge historical journal, volume III, number I, pp. 74-82).

Facts about the achievements of Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chouard Groseilliers.

HERTEL, R. de. *Michel d'Agneau d'Ouville et sa famille* (Nova Francia, juillet-août, 1929, pp. 218-229).

The genealogy of a French-Canadian family. Michel d'Agneau d'Ouville was an officer who came to Canada in 1681.

LANCOT, GUSTAVE. *Les cantiques des Acadiens* (Nova Francia, juillet-août, 1929, pp. 216-217).

Three songs that were sung by the Acadians during the days of their captivity and expulsion.

LANCTOT, GUSTAVE. *Les fonctions des gouverneurs* (Canada français, novembre, 1929, pp. 174-189).

The conclusion of an article on the official duties of the governors of New France.

Lettre du colonel de Malartic, commandant du Régiment de Béarn, 6 octobre 1755 (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1929, pp. 752-760).

A letter giving the news of the regiment of Béarn after its arrival in New France in 1755.

Lettre du Gouverneur D'Avaugour au ministre (4 août 1663) (Bulletin des recherches historiques, janvier, 1930, pp. 12-23).

A description of Canada, suggestions for defences, with a memoir on the fortifications required against the Iroquois.

Lettres de Mère Marie-Andrée Duplessis de Sainte-Hélène, supérieure des hospitalières de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec (Nova Francia, juillet-août, 1929, pp. 230-247).

Letters written during the first half of the eighteenth century.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *A propos de toile du pays* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1929, pp. 736-740).

A chapter in the domestic industries of New France.

————— *Le Champ de Mars de Montréal au XVIII^e siècle* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, janvier, 1930, pp. 7-11).

Notes on the early history of the famous Champ de Mars in Montreal.

————— *La complainte des nouveaux mariés* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1929, pp. 717-719).

A version of an old French-Canadian folk-song.

————— *Les habitants de Montréal en 1673* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, janvier, 1930, pp. 34-47).

A list of the inhabitants of the island of Montreal in 1673.

————— *Orfèvres et bijoutiers du régime français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, janvier, 1930, pp. 30-32).

A list of the goldsmiths and jewellers of New France.

————— *La publicité autrefois: Le ban et la criée à la trompette, au tambour, à la cloche* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1929, pp. 708-710).

A sketch of old-fashioned methods of broadcasting news in Canada.

MORISSETTE, NAPOLÉON. *En marge des nouvelles éditions de Garneau: Mgr de Laval* (Canada français, décembre, 1929, pp. 221-231; janvier, 1930, pp. 317-327).

An investigation into the alleged difficulties which Laval provoked in the ecclesiastical affairs of New France.

La navigation du fleuve Saint-Laurent (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1929, pp. 726-730).

A letter and a memorandum on the navigation of the St. Lawrence river, written by M. Dubois in 1759.

ODORI, E. *Le frère Didace Pelletier, franciscain* (Nova Francia, juillet-août, 1929, pp. 195-215).

Witnesses of the life and miracles of a Franciscan brother of the seventeenth century in New France.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Les Acadiens à Québec en 1757* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, janvier, 1930, pp. 50-64).

A collection of the burial deeds of the victims of the smallpox epidemic of 1757-8.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Comment on recevait les chevaliers de Saint-Louis* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1929, pp. 705-707).

A note on the ceremonial procedure of receiving a new chevalier into the Order of Saint Louis.

Nicolas Jourdain, *chef Iroquois* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, janvier, 1930, pp. 3-6).

The life of a Frenchman of the eighteenth century who was adopted into the tribe of the Iroquois.

Une pierre tombale de 1759 (Bulletin des recherches historiques, décembre, 1929, pp. 734-735).

Investigations concerning the tombstone of Alexander Cameron, probably the oldest tombstone in Quebec.

SIEDENBURG, FREDERIC. *Dedication of Marquette-Jolliet monument at Grafton, Illinois* (Mid-America, January, 1930, pp. 266-271).

A description of the formal dedication of a monument commemorating the first entrance of the white man into the present state of Illinois.

TERRAGE, MARC de VILLIERS du. *A hitherto unpublished plan of Fort Orleans on the Missouri*. Drawn by DUMONT de MONTIGNY (Mid-America, January, 1930, pp. 259-263).

A plan of Fort Orleans recently brought to light by the Baron de Villiers of Paris.

TRAMOND, JOANNÈS. *L'exposition des colonies françaises de l'Amérique*. Paris: Société de l'histoire des colonies françaises. 1929. Pp. 333-352.

A description of the exposition of French colonies of North America held in Paris last year, and a bird's eye view of the French period in Canada.

(3) British North America before 1867

Aspects of Anglo-American relations: The historical significance of the American Revolution in the development of the British Commonwealth of Nations by K. CAPPER JOHNSON. *The influence of international trade upon British-American relations* by JOHN MIDDLETON FRANKLAND. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1928. Pp. xv, 111.

To be reviewed later.

BAGLEY, C. B., and CURTIS, ASABEL. *A Mount Rainier centennial* (Washington historical quarterly, January, 1930, pp. 18-22).

Dr. William Fraser Tolmie, in 1833, journeyed from Nisqually House to Mount Rainier. It is proposed to celebrate the hundredth anniversary of this undertaking.

BARRY, J. NEILSON (ed.). *Broughton's log of a reconnaissance of the San Juan Islands in 1792* (Washington historical quarterly, January, 1930, pp. 55-60).

Lieut. W. R. Broughton, R.N., made the first attempt at a survey of the San Juan archipelago. His log is now published for the first time.

BIRCH, JOHN J. *The story of old Fort Johnson* (Americana, volume XXIV, number 1, pp. 22-27).

Details in the life of Sir William Johnson and in the life of his son, Sir John Johnson.

CAREY, CHARLES H. *Theodore Talbot journals, 1843, 1849-52* (Oregon historical quarterly, December, 1929, pp. 326-338).

An outline of the journals of Theodore Talbot, who was attached to Captain Fremont's second expedition to the Rocky mountains in 1843, and who served with the military detachment that came to Oregon in 1849.

CONN, HUGH. *The northwest passage: Centenary of the expedition of Sir John Ross* (Beaver, December, 1929, pp. 309-310).

The story of the expedition of Captain John Ross, R.N., to the Arctic regions in 1829.

CUNNINGHAM, GERTRUDE. *The significance of 1846 to the Pacific coast* (Washington historical quarterly, January, 1930, pp. 31-54).

An exposition of the Oregon boundary dispute, and a summary of the events of the year that settled the fate of the Pacific coast of North America.

DICKSON, Colonel Sir ALEXANDER. *Artillery services in North America in 1814 and 1815: The expedition against New Orleans, in North America, 1814-1815* (Society for army historical research, volume VIII, number 34, October, 1929, pp. 213-227).

The conclusion of a series of extracts from the journal of Colonel Sir Alexander Dickson, K.C.B., Commanding Royal Artillery.

Documents relating to Detroit and vicinity, 1805-1813. (Michigan historical collections, volume XL.) Lansing: Michigan Historical Commission. 1929. Pp. 754.

To be reviewed later.

DORRIS, J. T. *Federal aid to Oregon Trail prior to 1850* (Oregon historical quarterly, December, 1929, pp. 305-325).

A chapter in the history of western expansion.

ELLIOTT, T. C. *Oregon coast as seen by Vancouver in 1792* (Oregon historical quarterly, December, 1929, pp. 384-394).

A transcript taken from the first volume of the edition of Vancouver's *Voyage of Discovery*, published in 1798.

——— *Spokane House* (Washington historical quarterly, January, 1930, pp. 3-7).

A brief narrative of a frontier trading-post of the North West Company in the Spokane valley.

ENO, JOEL N. *The expansion of Massachusetts—chronological—based on the official records* (Americana, volume XXIV, number 1, pp. 28-40).

A scrutiny of the early days of discovery and settlement in New England.

FYERS, Major EVAN W. H. *General Sir William Howe's operations in Pennsylvania, 1777. The battle on the Brandywine Creek—11 September—and the action at Germantown—4 October* (Society for army historical research, volume VIII, number 34, October, 1929, pp. 228-241).

Despatches concerning Howe's operations in the war of the American Revolution.

GARRAGHAN, GILBERT J. *Earliest settlements of the Illinois country* (Catholic historical review, January, 1930, pp. 351-362).

A résumé of the findings of recent research in regard to the origins of the earliest settlements of the Illinois country.

GIBSON, W. *The "Victory" relics* (Beaver, December, 1929, pp. 311-312).

A description of the relics taken by the Boothia Eskimos from the wreck of Sir John Ross's ship, "Victory."

HOWAY, F. W. and MATTHEWS, ALBERT. *Some notes upon Captain Robert Gray* (Washington historical quarterly, January, 1930, pp. 8-12).

Remarks on the life of Captain Robert Gray, master of the famous vessel "Columbia", and trader to the north west coast.

INSH, G. P. *Sir William Alexander's colony at Port Royal* (Dalhousie review, January, 1930, pp. 439-447).

A brief sketch of the efforts that led to the settlement at Port Royal three hundred years ago, and an account of this first Scottish colony.

KENNEY, JAMES F. *The career of Henry Kelsey*. Ottawa: Printed for the Royal Society of Canada. 1929. Pp. 37-71.

An outline of the life of one of the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company in its early days.

KERALLAIN, R. de. *Bougainville à l'armée du C^{te} de Grasse, guerre d'Amérique, 1781-1782* (Journal de la société des Américanistes de Paris, nouvelle série, tome xx, 1928, pp. 1-70).

An account of Louis Antoine de Bougainville's service in the war of the American Revolution.

NASATIR, A. P. *Anglo-Spanish rivalry on the upper Missouri* (Mississippi valley historical review, December, 1929, pp. 359-367).

A history of Louisiana under the French régime, of its cession to Spain in 1763, and of the British competition with the Spaniards in the Missouri river region.

NICKERSON, HOFFMAN. *The turning point of the revolution, or Burgoyne in America*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1928. Pp. x, 500.

To be reviewed later.

PELL, JOHN. *Ethan Allen*. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1929. Pp. xii, 331.

Reviewed on page 58.

QUAIFE, M. M. *Eleanor Little, pioneer*. (Burton historical collection leaflet, volume VIII, number 3, January, 1930.) Detroit: The Detroit Public Library. 1930. Pp. 33-48.

The tale of a pioneer of the old north west a century ago.

RAU, LOUISE. *Three physicians of old Detroit*. (Burton historical collection leaflet, volume VIII, number 2, November, 1929.) Detroit: Detroit Public Library. 1929. Pp. 17-32.

A short account of the lives of Henry Lemarre dit Belisle, Dr. George Christian Anthon, and Dr. William Harffy.

SIFE, C. HALE. *The Indian wars of Pennsylvania: An account of the Indian events, in Pennsylvania, of the French and Indian war, Pontiac's war, Lord Dunmore's war, the Revolutionary war and the Indian uprising from 1789 to 1795: Tragedies of the Pennsylvania frontier*. Harrisburg: The Telegraph Press. 1929. Pp. 793.

To be reviewed later.

VOSPER, EDNA. *Report on the Sir John Vaughan papers in the William L. Clements Library*. Ann Arbor: The William L. Clements Library. 1929. Pp. 37.

"Among the manuscripts in the William L. Clements Library are three volumes which are interesting for the light they give on a neglected part of the American Revolution—the conduct of the war in the West Indies." They are part of the papers of Sir John Vaughan, one of the British generals of the Revolutionary War.

WILLIAMS, BENJAMIN H. *Sea power and prosperity* (Current history, February, 1930, pp. 890-895).

Includes a financial estimate of the War of 1812 from the American point of view.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

DAWSON, ROBERT MACGREGOR. *The civil service of Canada*. London: Oxford University Press. 1929. Pp. 266.

Reviewed on page 72.

HAMILTON, Colonel C. F. *The Canadian militia: The northwest rebellion, 1885* (Canadian defence quarterly, January, 1930, pp. 217-222).

Notes on the militia employed, the distribution of forces, and the staff and supply arrangements, in the north west rebellion.

[KENNEDY, W. P. M.]. *Law and custom in the Canadian constitution*. London: Macmillan. 1929. Pp. 143-160.

An article, reprinted from the December number of the "Round Table", pointing out the general evolution of the Canadian constitution, and examining it in some of its most important aspects.

LAVERGNE, ARMAND. *La patrie canadienne* (Dalhousie review, January, 1930, pp. 457-460).

Reflections on Canada's double origin and a plea for a national feeling based on the heritage of both races.

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